Henricus Glareanus's (1488–1563) *Chronologia* of the Ancient World

Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions

Edited by

Andrew Colin Gow
Edmonton, Alberta

In cooperation with

Sylvia Brown, Edmonton, Alberta
Falk Eisermann, Berlin
Berndt Hamm, Erlangen
Johannes Heil, Heidelberg
Susan C. Karant-Nunn, Tucson, Arizona
Martin Kaufhold, Augsburg
Erik Kwakkel, Leiden
Jürgen Miethke, Heidelberg
Christopher Ocker, San Anselmo and Berkeley, California

Founding Editor

Heiko A. Oberman †

VOLUME 177

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/smrt

Henricus Glareanus's (1488–1563) *Chronologia* of the Ancient World

A Facsimile Edition of a Heavily Annotated Copy
Held in Princeton University Library

Introduction and Transcription by
Anthony T. Grafton
Urs B. Leu

BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON
2014

Cover illustration: Desiderius Erasmus: *Encomium moriae*, Basel, Johannes Froben, 1515; pen drawing by Hans Holbein the Younger, brown ink, 4°, Inv. 1662, fol. N verso (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett; photo by Martin P. Bühler). Detail.
The book belonged to the Basle Reformer Oswald Myconius (1488–1552); the drawings were made by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543). This seems to be the most authentic picture of Glareanus.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Glareanus, Henricus, 1488-1563, author.
Henricus Glareanus's (1488-1563) Chronologia of the ancient world : a facsimile edition of a heavily annotated copy held in Princeton University Library / introduction and transcription by Anthony T. Grafton, Urs B. Leu.
pages cm – (Studies in medieval and reformation traditions ; 177)
ISBN 978-90-04-26175-4 (hardback : alk. paper) – ISBN 978-90-04-26176-1 (e-book)
1. History, Ancient–Early works to 1800. 2. Glareanus, Henricus, 1488-1563. 3. Hummelberger, Gabriel, approximately 1490-1544. I. Grafton, Anthony. II. Leu, Urs B. (Urs Bernhard), 1961- III. Title. IV. Title: Chronologia of the ancient world. V. Series: Studies in medieval and Reformation traditions ; 177.

PA8520.G6C47 2014
930–dc23

2013033721

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual "Brill" typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1573-4188
ISBN 978-90-04-26175-4 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-26176-1 (e-book)

Copyright 2014 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations VII
Preface 1

Glareanus's *Chronologia* 3
On the Uses of Chronology 6
Glareanus's Lectures on Livy and Suetonius 9
Another Student of Glareanus: Gabriel Hummelberg II (1530–1582?) 13
Hummelberg's Copy of Glareanus's *Chronologia* 17
Glareanus: A Unique Case? 32
The Practice of Chronology: Glareanus, Hummelberg and Others 37

Facsimile and Transcription of Hummelberg's Annotations 49

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1 S. C. S. M. (= Matthias Sambucellus), a member of Glareanus's Burse, wrote handwritten commentaries in his own copy of Glareanus's *De situ Helvetiae* (Basel 1514). He started with the remark: "Explanatio vocum minus bene cognitarum que in geographia helvecie continentur, quod carmen ipse Henricus Glareanus Basileae in studiorum contubernio 19 Calendas Janua[rij] palam omnibus gymnasij cultoribus decantavit paulo ante annum Christi servatoris nostri 1515 et subinde diligenti labore exposuit." It is the only known testimony of a private lecture held by Glareanus in his Basel Burse (Universitätsbibliothek Basel, call number: AN XIV 60) 4

2 Homer, *Ilias*, Strassburg, Wolfgang Köpfer, 1534 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 2196/1) 8

3 Henricus Glareanus, *Chronologia*, Basel, Froben, 1531, p. 33 (Kantonsbibliothek Aarau, call number: Rar F 13) 10

4 Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, Basel, Johannes Herwagen, 1554 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal 261)..... 12

5 Henricus Glareanus, *Chronologia*, Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1540, [p. 1] (Bibliothèque nationale de France, call number: Rés F 128)..... 15

6 Flyleaf of the Paris copy of Henricus Glareanus's *Chronologia*, Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1540, which is bound together with Glareanus's *Dodekachordon*, Basel, Heinrich Petri, 1547 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, call number: Rés F 127–128). The notes by Glareanus on the flyleaf refer to the *Dodekachordon*. Glareanus wrote that he corrected this imprint with a lot of errata by his own hand, but we know, that he only corrected a master-copy and wrote this introductory passage in several copies of his *Dodekachordon* by his own hand. Georg Spirer then transferred his corrections, at least to this Paris volume, containing the *Dodekachordon* and the *Chronologia* 16

7 Henricus Glareanus, *Chronologia*, Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1540, from the private library of Gabriel Hummelberg II. (Princeton University Library, call number: 2010-0227Q) 18

8 Henricus Glareanus, *De asse et partibus eius*, Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1551, f. 1r (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal I 54) 20

9 Henricus Glareanus, *De asse et partibus eius*, Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1551 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal I 54)..... 21

10 Baptista Mantuanus, *Opera*, vol. 1, Paris, Jehan Petit, 1513, f. 25v (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: Rq 1). Glareanus's working copy, with notes of three kinds: subject headings, substantive comments, and definitions. His student Johann Jakob Halbmeier transcribed many of these notes in his own copy of Baptista Mantuanus (Venedig 1499), now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (call number: 4 Inc.c.a. 1652 a/1) 22

11 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Lyon, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1541, (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 1963) 24

12 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Paris, Franciscus Gryphius, 1541 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 1972) 25

13 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Lyon, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1541, p. 9 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 1963) 26
14 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Paris, Franciscus Gryphius, 1541, p. 9 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 1972) 27
15 Gaius Julius Solinus, *De memoralibus* [i.e. *De memorabilibus mundi*], Venedig 1498 (Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern, call number: Ink.975.8.). The previous owner dated on the title page the beginning of Vadianus's lecture: "Incoeptus est Solinus A Ioachimo Vadiano Helvecio Doctore Poeta et Oratore Laureato Anno 1517 die vero 15 Decembris" 28
16 Gaius Julius Solinus, *Polyhistor sive de mirabilibus mundi* [i.e. *De memorabilibus mundi*], Bologna, Benedictus Hector Faellus, 1500, f. $[]_4$v/f. A_1r (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: 4.197_2). The previous owner dated on the title page the beginning of Vadianus's lecture: "Legebat eundem poeta et orator Laureatus medicineque doctor Joachimus Vadianus Helvetius Dr. S. Gallo. Vienne Discipulis suis quem et 14 die Decembris incip[i]ebat anno incarnationis 1517" 29
17 Gaius Julius Solinus, *De memoralibus* [i.e. *De memorabilibus mundi*], Venice 1498, f. b_{iii}r (Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern, call number: Ink.975.8.) 30
18 Gaius Julius Solinus, *Polyhistor sive de mirabilibus mundi* [i.e. *De memorabilibus mundi*], Bologna, Benedictus Hector Faellus, 1500, f. C_{iii}v (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: 4.197_2) 31
19 New Testament (latin), Basel, Adam Petri, 1522, p. 8 (UB Basel, call number: F G IX^2 86a). Notes by the librarian Georg Carpentarius, designed to make reading of the Bible easier: chapter titles and subject headings, parallel passages, interlinear definitions and synonyms 33
20 Augustinus, *Opera*, Basel, Officina Frobeniana, 1528, p. 337 (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: AW 57: 8). Commentary on Ps. 50 with biblical parallels, Latin marginal glosses on the right and a long German commentary on the text on the foot of the page 35
21 Konrad Gessner, *Nomenclator aquatilium animantium. Icones animalium aquatilium* ... Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1560, p. 257 (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: NNN 44_3). Three images of a sea urchin with Gessner's note: "Pinxi" ("I drew this") 36
22 Konrad Gessner, *Bibliotheca universalis*, Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1545, f. 17r (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: Dr M 3) 38
23 Caius Plinius Secundus, *Historiarum naturae libri XXXVII*, Paris, Antoine Augereau pour Galiot du Pré, 1532, p. 46 (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: AW 59) 39
24 Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, Basel, Froben, 1531, p. 73 (Bibliothèque Humaniste de Sélestat, call number: K 1224). With marginal notes, wavy lines and other signs added by Beatus Rhenanus 40

PREFACE

In 2007 the Princeton University Library bought a heavily annotated copy of the *Chronologia* (1540) of the Swiss humanist Henricus Glareanus. The signature on the title page revealed that Gabriel Hummelberg, later a physician in Voralberg, entered the marginal notes. Originally it was not clear whether the notes recorded a lecture course by Glareanus at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, a dictated lesson that he had provided for students in the hostel that he supervised or an earlier written original that has disappeared. As we studied Hummelberg's notes in Princeton in March and April 2010, however, it became clear that Hummelberg copied his notes from a written original. Unknown to us at the time, the musicologist Cristle Collina Judd had shown in 2000 how carefully Glareanus annotated and personalized copies of his works. She also pointed out that he had allowed students to copy some of his musical partbooks.[1] While we were at work, a number of German scholars, whose studies are cited below, arrived at the same conclusion by studying other annotated books that came from Glareanus's library and circle. Previous scholarship on humanist education has paid little attention to the style of annotation practiced here, in which students transcribe notes from a professor's copy of a book into their own copies. The purpose of this facsimile is above all to raise the question whether Glareanus and his students represented a special case, or if similar documents exist for others as well. The presentation of the marginalia is designed to shed light on their origin and promote comparative studies. It seemed appropriate to publish them in 2013, the 525th anniversary of Glareanus's birth and the 450th of his death.

We owe warm thanks to Princeton University Library, and especially to the Curator of Rare Books, Stephen Ferguson. He discovered the book in an antiquarian catalogue, bought it, supported our study and arranged to have it digitized for our use and that of others. Arjan van Dijk of the Leiden publishing house Brill was immediately interested in our project and agreed to publish it. Further thanks are owed to Ian Holt of the Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, Dr. Ueli Dill of the Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Dr. Sven Kuttner of the Universitätsbibliothek München and Professor Ann Blair of Harvard University, all of whom provided invaluable help and information.

Princeton and Zürich, May 2013

[1] Cristle Collina Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 117–176. Like all students of Glareanus's practices as a reader and annotator, she built on the pioneering work of Iain Fenlon, to which we are deeply indebted: "Heinrich Glarean's Books," in: *Music in the German Renaissance*, ed. J. Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 74–102.

The Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, the Firestone Library of Princeton University and the Zentralbibliothek Solothurn (Switzerland) possess annotated copies of the 1540 edition of Henricus Glareanus's chronology. For pages at a time, the marginal notes in the books are nearly identical, but when the copy in Solothurn was restored, its pages were chemically washed, so that only a few handwritten annotations can be deciphered.[2] Taken together, the other two copies yield the original text of Glareanus's commentary on his own chronology. More important, they shed a new light on his methods as a humanistic scholar, his practices as a teacher, and his ways of using and reconfiguring printed books to make them serve very specific scholarly and pedagogical purposes. Like Glareanus's working copy of Livy in Munich, in which detailed notes and vivid drawings clearly reveal the processes by which he worked up his notes on and chronology of Livy, the later notes in these volumes add a chapter to his intellectual and scholarly biography.[3]

The Swiss humanist Heinrich Loriti (1488–1563), whose Latin name was Henricus Glareanus, came from Mollis in the Canton of Glarus. He attended schools in Bern and Rottweil and then studied at the Universities of Vienna and Cologne. In 1510 he took the degree of *Magister artium*.[4] Two years later the Emperor Maximilian I crowned him *Poeta laureatus*. When the great debate over the Hebrew scholarship of Johannes Reuchlin broke out, he attacked the Dominicans of Cologne and moved to Basel. There he married his first wife, Ursula Offenburg, and directed a student hostel. Later travels took him to Pavia in 1515 and then to Paris, where he remained from 1517 to 1522. Then he returned to Basel. Like his intellectual model, Erasmus, Glareanus took a critical view of the Reformation. In 1529, accordingly, both humanists moved from Basel to Freiburg im Breisgau. As in Paris he managed hostels in both cities, where he held private lectures for his students (Fig. 1). In 1541 Glareanus married his second wife, Barbara Speyer, and until 1560 he taught poetics, history and geography at the University of Freiburg.

Glareanus was a renowned and skillful scholar: Erasmus chose him as one of the dream team of experienced correctors assigned to supervise the posthumous edition of his works, and he edited and commented on many ancient authors.[5] He took a particular interest in the ancient historians of Rome, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and drew up commentaries on both authors. In 1531, when the Basel edition of Livy prepared by Caelius Secundus Curio appeared, Glareanus produced chronological tables on Roman history that covered the whole span of years from the foundation of the city to the time of the Emperor Claudius. A year later he published a heavily revised edition of the Latin translation of the *Antiquitates Romanae* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus by the Florentine humanist Lapo Biraghi (1405–1438), which had first been printed at Treviso in 1480.[6] Biraghi, a papal secretary and friend of Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo Bruni, had made a great many errors. Glareanus claimed

---

[2] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Departement de la musique, Rés. F. 127–128; Princeton, Firestone Library, call number: 2010–0227Q. This book was purchased in December 2007 from Christopher Edwards. Digital images of the entire work are available at http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/s1784k81w [consulted on February 26, 2013]. The copy preserved in the Zentralbibliothek Solothurn is Rar I 1106.

[3] On the working copy in Munich, Universitätsbibliothek W 8° A.lat. 692, see Martina Mengele, "'Ein seltza[m] histori' oder: Wie sich Marginalien in einen gedruckten Kommentar verwandeln," in: Inga Mai Groote (ed.), *Blicke über den Seitenrand: Der Humanist Heinrich Glarean und seine Bücher, Katalog zur Ausstellung der Universitätsbibliothek München, 19. 4.–30. 6. 2010*, pp. 26–42 (online: http://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/11471/1/HG_katalog_11471.pdf).

[4] Hans-Ulrich Bächtold, "Glareanus," in: *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, 5 (Basel: Schwabe, 2006), p. 441 f.

[5] Markus Nöthiger, "Glareanus als Altphilologe", in: Rudolf Aschmann et al., *Der Humanist Heinrich Loriti genannt Glareanus (1488–1563). Beiträge zu seinem Leben und Werk* (Mollis: Ortsmuseum, 1983), p. 259; Hans-Hubertus Mack, *Humanistische Geisteshaltung und Bildungsbemühungen am Beispiel von Heinrich Loriti Glareanus 1488–1563*, Diss. phil. Univ. Augsburg (Bad-Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Linkhardt, 1992), pp. 266–270.

[6] Glareanus originally intended to offer this edition to the printer Episcopius, but Bonifacius Amerbach persuaded him not to. He dedicated it to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, who was elected king in Cologne on 5 January 1531. See Alfred Hartmann (ed.), *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, 4: *Die Briefe aus den Jahren 1531–1536* (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1953), p. 100; Franz-Dieter Sauerborn: "… atque suum familiarem nominarint." Der Humanist Heinrich Glareanus (1488–1563) und die Habsburger," *Zeitschrift des Breisgau-Geschichtsvereins "Schau-ins-Land"* 120 (2001), p. 60.

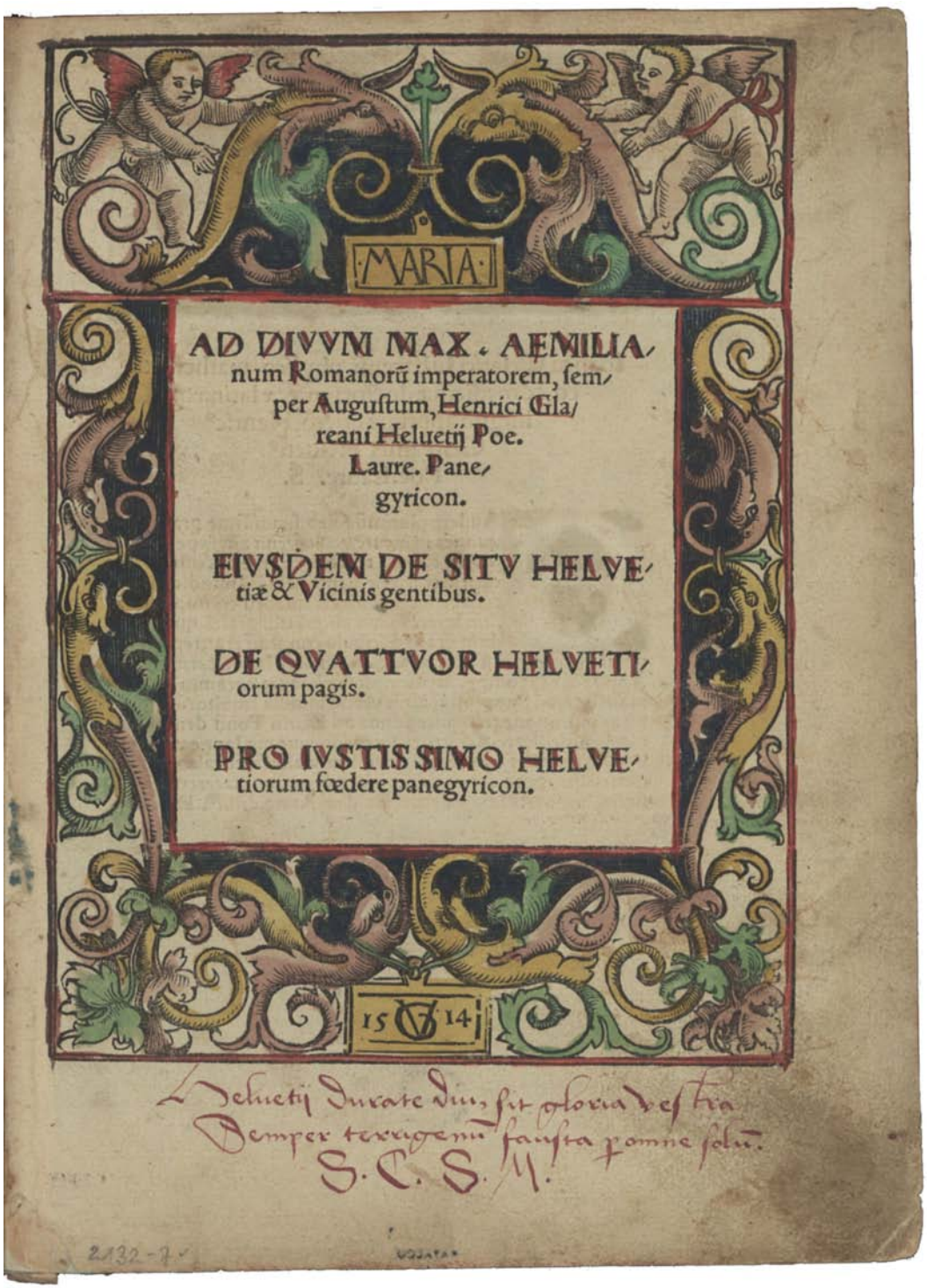


Fig. 1. S. C. S. M. (= Matthias Sambucellus), a member of Glareanus's Burse, wrote handwritten commentaries in his own copy of Glareanus's *De situ Helvetiae* (Basel 1514). He started with the remark: "Explanatio vocum minus bene cognitarum que in geographia helvecie continentur, quod carmen ipse Henricus Glareanus Basileae in studiorum contubernio 19 Calendas Janua[rij] palam omnibus gymnasij cultoribus decantavit paulo ante annum Christi servatoris nostri 1515 et subinde diligenti labore exposuit." It is the only known testimony of a private lecture held by Glareanus in his Basel Burse (Universitätsbibliothek Basel, call number: AN XIV 60)

to have corrected some 6,000 of these, and to have commented on 300 passages. For Dionysius, as for Livy, he composed chronological tables, which now covered the whole period from the fall of Troy to AD 444.[7] These tables were reprinted in 1549 with Sigismund Gelenius's new translation into Latin of the Greek text of Dionysius.[8] Glareanus also revised his chronology of Livy for a new edition in 1535, expanding it backwards so that it too began with the fall of Troy. Livy's history and Glareanus's chronology went through five further Basel printings, in 1539, 1543, 1549, 1554, and 1555.

In 1540 Michael Isengrin published Glareanus's chronology and his *Annotationes* on Livy as an independent work. Glareanus's students annotated the copies of this work that we will study here. Their notes reveal that he spent years revising these tables, though for unknown reasons no second edition of them ever appeared. It is not surprising that a publisher thought it reasonable to print Glareanus's tables without the texts they were originally designed to accompany. Synchronistic tables of world history formed a well established genre by this time. Chronology itself, after all, was a classical discipline, created by the ancient Greeks. From the fifth century BC onwards, antiquaries in Athens and elsewhere tabulated the names of priests, priestesses and Olympic victors, and wove annalistic chronicles from them. They encountered criticism, not only from one another, but from Thucydides, who attacked the method of the pioneering chronographer Hellanicus as arbitrary (5.20).[9] But they also found imitators, and chronology became a complex, sophisticated pursuit. Hellenistic scholars established synchronisms—connections between events that took place at the same time in different regions of the Mediterranean—and drew up historical tables. These often began in the early, mythical period of the second millennium BCE. They regularly included cultural information, such as the dates of Homer and other poets or that of the invention of the trireme, as well as battles and changes of government.[10] Later, Roman scholars like Varro and Atticus composed tables of their own, which connected the history of their city to the older stories of the Greeks.[11]

Around the beginning of the fourth century CE, finally, the Christian writer Eusebius of Caesarea drew up a chronology for world history. Starting after the universal Flood, Eusebius wove the histories of nineteen different peoples together in a single table, which showed how kingdoms rose and fell until only Rome and Israel—and then, finally, only Rome—remained, so that the message of the Messiah could reach all the world's people. Even the layout of his work—which he designed with great care—highlighted its providential message. The *Chronicle*, which was translated into Latin, Armenian and other languages, became the first great model of Christian universal history. For the next millennium and more, scholars read, annotated and updated Eusebius's book.[12] Though Renaissance humanists rejected many of the forms of scholarship that had been most popular in the Middle Ages, they embraced the Eusebian model of chronology.

---

[7] Frank Hieronymus, *Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen*. Publikationen der Universitätsbibliothek Basel 15 (Basel: Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 1992), p. 352.

[8] Ibid., pp. 351–354. The work appeared with Glareanus's chronology yet again in 1586, 1588 and 1691. The Zentralbibliothek of the Universitätsbibliothek Bern has a copy of the 1549 edition from the library of Leonhard and Emanuel Hospinian with manuscript marginalia (call number: ZB Hospinian 76).

[9] John Forsdyke, *Greece before Homer: Ancient Chronology and Mythology* (London, Max Parrish, 1956); Alden Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, [Pa.]: Bucknell University Press, 1979); Astrid Möller, "The Beginning of Chronography: Hellanicus' *Hiereiai*," in: N. Luraghi (ed.), *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 241–262; "Greek Chronographic Traditions about the First Olympic Games," in: *Time and Temporality in the Ancient World*, ed. R.M. Rosen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2004), pp. 169–184; "Felix Jacoby and Ancient Greek Chronography," in: C. Ampolo (ed.), *Aspetti dell'opera di Felix Jacoby* (Pisa, Edizioni della Scuola Normale Superiore, 2006), pp. 259–275; Katherine Clarke, *Making Time for the Past: Local History and the Polis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). For a separate tradition that took shape in the same period see Anthony T. Grafton & Noel M. Swerdlow, "Calendar Dates and Ominous Days in Ancient Historiography," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51 (1988), pp. 14–42.

[10] See Mosshammer (footnote 9) and Clarke (footnote 9).

[11] Denis Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Jörg Rüpke, *The Roman calendar from Numa to Constantine: time, history, and the fasti*, tr. David M.B. Richardson (Chichester; and Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

[12] For this and the next paragraph see in general Mosshammer (footnote 9); Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006); Rosamond McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006); Benjamin Steiner, *Historische Tabellenwerke in der frühen Neuzeit*, Norm und Struktur 24 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008); Daniel Rosenberg and Anthony Grafton, *Cartographies of Time* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010). On the medieval chronicle traditions that grew up from the twelfth century onwards, and which had a deep

Petrarch heavily annotated his copy of the *Chronicle*, which gave him the rich historical information he used to understand, and occasionally to correct, the accounts of early Roman history in Virgil and Livy.[13] Polydore Vergil drew on it repeatedly in his influential compilation *De inventoribus rerum*.[14] And the Carthusian Werner Rolewinck adapted it in his *Fasciculus temporum*. He reoriented the tables to move from side to side of the page, rather than up and down, stretched the Eusebian chronicle backwards to the Creation and enriched the simple tabular form Eusebius had used with a complex system of lines, bubbles, and textual entries.[15] Jerome's version of Eusebius was printed in 1475 in Milan, from a manuscript now in Oxford.[16] Further editions appeared in Paris in 1512 and 1518—with supplements drawn from Rolewinck and other sources—and in Basel itself in 1529 and 1536.[17] Glareanus himself collaborated on the last of these. From the 12th century onwards, moreover, new tables of world history took shape. Glareanus's tables formed a learned, humanistic addition to what was already an established genre—and one that would burgeon in the course of the sixteenth century.

On the Uses of Chronology

The first edition of Glareanus's Livy (1531) includes a letter of dedication from Erasmus to the young English courtier and future patron of learning Charles Mountjoy. The prince of humanists described Livy as "latinae historiae princeps"[18] and praised Glareanus's work on chronology. As Erasmus went on to explain, chronology brings order into the sequence of times, the different kinds of warfare and the names of individuals. Hurling all his metaphors into one basket, he described it as the sole illumination of history, the Pole Star that made it possible for readers, who would be blind without it, to navigate the seas of history, and the thread that even the learned reader required if he hoped to find his way out of the labyrinth of past events.[19] The same enthusiastic description reappears as a blurb on the title page of the 1540 edition of Glareanus's chronology.

In his own preface to the revised version of his chronology, which he wrote in 1534 and addressed to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria,[20] King of Bohemia and Hungary, Glareanus began by remarking that the printer had done a particularly careful job of

---

impact of their own on printed chronicles, see Andrea Worm, "Diagrammatic Chronicles," in: Graeme Dunphy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 522–532; "Layout," ibid., pp. 1001–1011; "Werner Rolevinck," ibid., pp. 1292–1295; "Rudimentum Novitiorum," ibid., pp. 1304–1307; "Scala Mundi," ibid., pp. 1331–1333.

13 Giuseppe Billanovich, *Un nuovo esempio delle scoperte e delle letture del Petrarca, L'"Eusebio-Girolamo-PseudoProspero"*, Schriften und Vorträge des Petrarca-Instituts Köln, 3 (Krefeld: Scherpe, 1954).

14 Brian P. Copenhaver, "The Historiography of Discovery in the Renaissance: The Sources and Composition of Polydore Vergil's *De Inventoribus Rerum*, I–III," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), pp. 192–214; Polydore Vergil, *On Discovery*, ed. and tr. Brian P. Copenhaver (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002).

15 Adalbert Klempt, *Die Säkularisierung der universalhistorischen Auffassung* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1960); A.-D. v. den Brincken, "Beobachtungen zum Aufkommen der retrospektiven Inkarnationsära," *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 25 (1979), pp. 1–20; Kathleen Biddick, *The Typological Imaginary: Circumcision, Technology, History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), chap. 2.

16 http://www.sfb-frueheneuzeit.uni-muenchen.de/projekte/zusatz/HistorischeTabellenwerke/Eusebius%20von.html.

17 See Peter Way, "Jehan de Mouveaux's 'Primum exemplar': A model copy made for Henri Estienne's 1512 edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*," *Quaerendo* 32, 1/2 (2002), pp. 60–98; Paul Lehmann, *Iohannes Sichardus und die von ihm benutzten Bibliotheken und Handschriften* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1911); Hieronymus (footnote 7), p. 669 f. The Universitätsbibliothek Basel has a 1529 edition with manuscript notes by the Reformer Martin Borrhaus (1499–1564) (call number: Bc I 63:3). In the Zentralbibliothek of the Universitätsbibliothek Bern is a copy of the 1536 *Chronicon*, which was annotated by the French jurist and pioneering historian of the Roman Law, Jacques Cujas (1522–1590) (call number: ZB Bong I 468). And the Zentralbibliothek Zürich has another copy of this edition, from the library of the Reformed cleric Rudolf Gwalther (1519–1586), unfortunately without manuscript notes (call number: B 88_1).

18 This *Epitheton ornans* appears on the title page.

19 Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita* (Basel: Hieronymus Froben, Johannes Herwagen and Nikolaus Episcopius, 1531), f. a_2v: "Adiuncta autem est huic aeditioni, Chronologia Henrici Glareani, hominis exquisite multiphariamque docti, cuius indefatigabilis industria, non solum hoc inclytum gymnasium Friburgense, verum etiam totam hanc regionem, liberalibus disciplinis expolit, exornat, locupletat. Ea Chronologia commonstrat temporum ordinem, bellorum species, ac personarum nomina, in quibus hactenus fuit mira confusio, scribarum ac sciolorum vitio inducta. Atqui haec erat unica historiae lux. Quod si haec absit cynosura, caeca prorsus est in historiarum pelago navigatio: et nisi hoc adsit filum, inextricabilis error involvit lectorem etiam eruditum in his rerum gestarum labyrinthis."

20 Sauerborn (footnote 6), p. 60 f.

setting the text, following the manuscript that he himself had prepared.[21] Chronology, he explained, reveals the order in the past. His own work began with the fall of Troy, which had taken place 432 years before Rome was founded, and set out in parallel the histories of Greece, Rome, Israel, the Medes, the Macedonians and the Persians. The *Chronicle* of Eusebius had served as his general model, but Livy and Dionysius had provided more reliable accounts of the history of Rome in its first, monarchical period. He also claimed that he had tried to serve the reader by keeping his work as brief as possible.

In the preface to the 1540 edition, also addressed to Archduke Ferdinand, Glareanus compared chronology to the sun. Remove the sun from the world, and chaos would ensue. The same was true for chronology: without it the student of history would have no way to orient himself. Everyone studied Livy, he noted, but his chronology was particularly confusing.[22] He now offered this slender new edition of his work to those who already owned an edition of the text and found it burdensome to have to buy a second one.[23] Glareanus and his publishers were absolutely right to believe that chronology mattered to their contemporaries. One example can serve for many: the title page of a 1534 edition of Homer, printed in Strasbourg, that belonged to the Solothurn teacher Johannes Wagner, also known as Ioannes Carpentarius (1522–1590). He noted on it that Homer had lived in 1087 BC, at the time of the Old Testament King Saul, and that Troy had fallen in 1183 BC—just the sort of information that a reader could find in a set of synchronistic chronological tables like those of Glareanus (Fig. 2).[24]

Certainly Aegidius Tschudi, best known as a Catholic statesman and Swiss historian, but also a serious chronologer, seems to have used and thought well of Glareanus's work.[25] He corresponded with Glareanus for years and drew up his own chronological tables, which are now preserved in the Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen.[26] His work closely resembles that of Glareanus, which may have served as his model. Tschudi too saw chronology as vital for setting time itself in order, and he used it to support his providential reading of history, from Creation to Apocalypse.[27] On 15 August 1533 Glareanus gave

[21] It is well known that Hartmann Schedel laid out the design of his 1493 Nuremberg Chronicle, page by page, in a manuscript that survives in Nuremberg. This must have been common practice for works that, as chronology often did, required a precise and complicated mise-en-page. See Adrian Wilson, with Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*, 2nd printing (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1978); Christoph Reske, *Die Produktion der Schedelschen Weltchronik in Nürnberg = The Production of Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000).

[22] Henricus Glareanus, *Chronologia* (Basel: Michael Isengrin, 1540), f. c_3r: "Tolle solem ex hoc mundo, quid aliud nisi confusum relinquetur chaos? Tolle aetatum ac seculorum ordinem ex historia, dii boni quam nihil lucis rebus gestis adfuerit. Qua causa ego motus, cum Livii historia, ut eminentissima et utilissima, ab omnibus passim enarranda suscipiatur, in ea autem temporum ratio mire claudicet, existimavi operae precium me facturum, si studiosos hac etiam parte, ut aliis nostris operibus, pro virili iuvarem, id quod antea in Dionysii Halicarnassei praeclarissimi ac diligentissimi historiographi libris fecimus."

[23] Glareanus, ibid.: "ac fidelem dedi operam, ut ea denuo seorsum excuderetur, videlicet ut, qui antea Livii codices habent, quando non omnibus eundem autorem bis parare commodum est, possent etiam hoc nostro frui labore."

[24] Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 2196 (2an). Cf. Rolf Max Kully: "'Tutto Erasmiano.' Die Bibliothek des Ioannes Carpentarius in Solothurn," *Librarium* 28/2 (1985), p. 82 f.

[25] His best known work is the *Chronicon Helveticum*, which was critically edited, chiefly by Bernhard Stettler, between 1968 and 2001 in 19 volumes. See also Katharina Koller-Weiss und Christian Sieber, *Aegidius Tschudi und seine Zeit* (Basel: Krebs, 2002).

[26] Franz Jos. Müller, "Briefe Glareans an Aegidius Tschudi (1533–1561)," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 27 (1933), pp. 107–131; 215–229; 277–294; and ibid., 28 (1934), pp. 30–39, 117–128, 184–197. For the correspondence see the overview in: Otto Fridolin Fritzsche, *Glarean. Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Frauenfeld: J. Huber, 1890), pp. 133–136. Tschudi mentioned Glareanus in the preface to his "Alpisch Rhetia" (Basel: Johannes Bebel, 1538), f. A_{ii}r/v: "Deßhalb by vnns billich das erst lob wirt geben dem hochgelerten herren Heinrico Glareano Poeten / minen günstigen herren / Preceptor vnd verwandten / der hat by uns von erst die alten nammen harfür gezogen / welchs domaln schier für unerhoert geacht ward / vß lang verlegner vngewonheit." Glareanus thanked him for this mention in a letter of 8 April 1538. Cf. Müller, p. 228 f.

[27] See for example, in Codex 662, pp. 152–441 the "Chronica mundi, ab urbe condita usque ad annum 1097." Cf. Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti: *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, Bd. 1, Abt. IV: *Codices 547–669: Hagiographica, Historica, Geographica, 8.–18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), p. 309 f. Page 207 of the Codex is reproduced in color in Bernhard Stettler, *Tschudi-Vademecum. Annäherungen an Aegidius Tschudi und sein "Chronicon Helveticum"*. Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte Neue Folge, Chroniken, Bd. VII, Aegidius Tschudi, Chronicon Helveticum, Hilfsmittel 3. Teil (Basel: Kommissionsverlag Krebs AG, 2001), Plate VI.

Fig. 2. Homer, *Ilias*, Strassburg, Wolfgang Köpfer, 1534 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 2196/1)

Tschudi a copy of his 1531 edition of Livy, with the original form of his tables.[28] The volume, bound in cowhide, bears the Supralibros of Balthasar Merklin, imperial councillor, vice chancellor of the Empire and Bishop of Hildesheim and Constanz, who died unexpectedly of a heart attack while visiting Trier on 28 May 1531.[29] Merklin's large and colorful coat of arms, which appears on the fly leaf, shows that Glareanus had originally wanted to give this volume to the Bishop—to whom, in fact, he had also dedicated the edition itself.[30] Apparently a copy of the book, the printing of which reached completion in March 1531, found its way to the bishop's court and was adorned with his coat of arms. After Merklin's death, however, it came back to Glareanus, who then presented it in 1533 to Tschudi with a handwritten dedication. Tschudi in turn worked through the volume intensively, entering many marginal notes—especially in the chronological tables (Fig. 3).[31] It seems likely that he then used these tables as the model when he composed his own synchronistic tables of world history, which are almost 300 pages long, transferring all the material that he found useful.[32] That would explain why he did not make a single note in his copy of Glareanus's 1540 chronology.[33]

Glareanus's lectures on Livy and Suetonius

In 1532, Glareanus explained the use of history in the preface to his edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus's *Antiquitates romanae*. One studied the past, he argued, in order to find good examples to follow and bad ones to avoid.[34] This ethical and pragmatic imperative—one conventionally invoked, with quotations from Cicero, by virtually everyone who wrote about history in the period—no doubt helped to inspire Glareanus to offer courses at the universities of Basel and Freiburg im Breisgau on Livy, Tacitus, Sallust and Caesar.[35] At Freiburg, where he settled on 14 April 1529,[36] his preferences soon became clear. On 6 October of the same year he informed the Protestant theologian Johannes a Lasco that he was teaching Livy, with the approval of the university's administrators.[37] He seems to have lectured repeatedly on the historian of Rome. As late as the academic year 1558–1559, the future city clerk of Solothurn, Johann Jakob van Staal, sr. (1540–1615), who had matriculated at Freiburg on 2 August 1558, heard what Glareanus had to say about the Roman historian. He entered his notes on the course in the margin of a copy of the 1554 Basel edition of Livy,

[28] Glareanus to Tschudi, 15 August 1531, in: Müller (footnote 26), p. 215 f.: "Atque eccum tibi, ornatissime Aegidi, quem certe missurum me promiseram codicem dignum et te et me munus, quod doctis multis in Europa viris placuit, ut eorum ad me datae litterae testantur. Inter quos D. Erasmus parens ac praeceptor noster, primus ut sol inter astra, tenet qui prefatione in hunc auctorem paucis quidem illis sed oppido elegantibus verbis planum fecit, quod haec chronologia novum lumen auctori Livio attulerit."

[29] Gunther Franz, "Porträts und Wappendarstellungen des Balthasar Merklin von Waldkirch, Bischof, Reichskanzler und Stiftsherr von St. Simeon in Trier," in: Michael Embach et al. (ed.), *Sancta Treveris. Beiträge zu Kirchenbau und bildender Kunst im alten Erzbistum Trier. Festschrift für Franz J. Ronig zum 70. Geburtstag* (Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 1999), pp. 137–146, esp. 138.

[30] On 4 March 1532 Glareanus wrote to Johannes a Lasco that the good man who had served as Examinator at the Court of the Emperor Maximilian when he was crowned *Poeta laureatus* and to whom he had dedicated his Livy chronology, had unfortunately died, and so not learned of the gratitude expressed by Glareanus's dedication. See Simon Abbes Gabbema (ed.), *Illustrium et clarorum virorum epistolae* (Harlingen: Hero Galama, 1669), p. 16, and Sauerborn (footnote 6), p. 58. The same letter shows that Glareanus also gave his chronology to Johannes a Lasco (ibid., 14).

[31] The book is now in the Kantonsbibliothek Aarau, call number: Rar F 13.

[32] See Scarpatetti (footnote 27). Some notes on Glareanus are also to be found in Tschudi's collection of material on the history of the ancient world from the fall of Troy down to the Gothic wars of Justinian, preserved in Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Codex 638, 35–410. See Scarpatetti (footnote 27), p. 256 f.

[33] This book is also in the Kantonsbibliothek Aarau, call number: Rar F 15.

[34] The formal study of history was introduced at Freiburg in 1538. See Horst Ruth, "Statuten und Gefüge der Artistenfakultät im 16. Jahrhundert," in: Dieter Mertens und Heribert Smolinsky (ed.): *Von der hohen Schule zur Universität der Neuzeit. Festschrift 550 Jahe Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg*, 2 (Freiburg and Munich: Verlag Karl Alber, 2007), p. 64. For the traditional justifications for historical study that Glareanus invoked, see George Nadel, "Philosophy of History before Historicism," *History and Theory*, 3, no. 3 (1964), pp. 291–315; Rüdiger Landfester, *Historia magistra vitae. Untersuchungen zur humanistischen Geschichtstheorie des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Geneva: Droz, 1972); Eckhard Kessler, "Das rhetorische Modell der Historiographie," in: *Formen der Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Reinhart Koselleck et al. (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982), pp. 37–85; Ulrich Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Humanismus und in der Aufklärung: die Vorgeschichte des Historismus* (Munich: Beck, 1991).

[35] Nöthiger (footnote 5), p. 190.

[36] Felix Stüssi, "Lebenslauf," in: Rudolf Aschmann et al., *Der Humanist Heinrich Loriti genannt Glarean (1488–1563). Beiträge zu seinem Leben und Werk* (Mollis: Ortsmuseum, 1983), p. 38.

[37] Gabbema (footnote 30), p. 11. Glareanus dedicated his work *De geographia* (at least the editions of 1536 and 1539) to a Lasco.

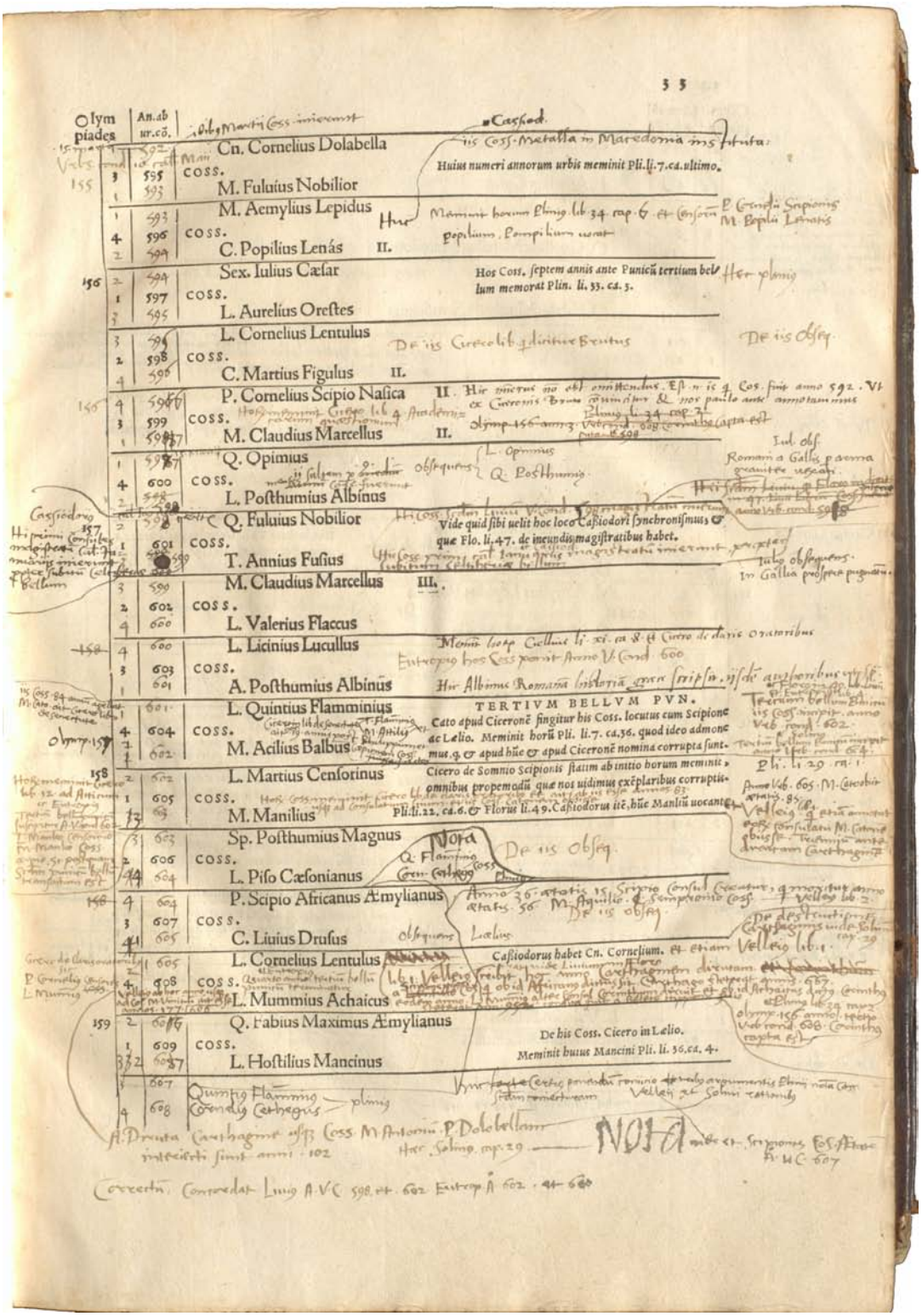


Fig. 3. Henricus Glareanus, *Chronologia*, Basel, Froben, 1531, p. 33 (Kantonsbibliothek Aarau, call number: Rar F 13)

which is now preserved in the Zentralbibliothek in Solothurn (Fig. 4).[38]

Von Staal actually specified, at five points in his notes, how long it took Glareanus to cover each book of Livy. According to a note on the title page of his copy, the course began on 3 October 1558.[39] The other entries read:

p. 57: "Absolvit lib. primum 23 die Novembris, et auspicabatur secundum 26 die Novembris" [He finished book one on 23 November, and began book 2 on 26 November.]

p. 114: "Finivit lib. secundum die 28 Ianuarii, Anno Domini 1559. Et auspicatus est librum 3 die 30 eiusdem mensis et anni" [He finished book 2 on 28 January 1558. And he began book 3 on the 30th of the same month and year.]

p. 235: "Finivit librum IIII die octava Maii et auspicabatur V die nona Maii anno 1559" [He finished book 4 on 8 May and began book 5 on 9 May 1559.]

p. 331: "Exorsus est librum VII ipsis Calendis Septembris 1559" [He commenced book 7 on the first of September 1559.]

p. 466: "Hoc loco, postremam a Domino Glareano praeceptore nostro colendissimo lectionem audivimus. Friburgi Brisgoiae in Collegio ipso Sanctae Barbarae festo. Anno 1559, hora 12" [Here I heard the last lecture given by my venerable teacher Glareanus, at Freiburg im Breisgau, in the Collegium, on the feast of Saint Barbara (4 December 1559).]

The last entry—which von Staal entered in a neatly drawn facsimile of a public announcement—appears not long before the end of book 9 of Livy. Afterwards von Staal, who received a stipend for study in Paris on 23 November 1559, seems to have left the University of Freiburg, though he stopped at Solothurn before he went on to Paris.[40]

Von Staal's notes suggest that Glareanus took from five to eight weeks to deal with a single book of Livy. It was probably on 30 January 1559, at the beginning of his lectures on book 3, that he performed the autobiographical song that is preserved in a Munich manuscript.[41] Other volumes from von Staal's library show that the course on Livy was not the only one that Glareanus held in 1558–1559. In a copy of Glareanus's edition of Horace, for example, von Staal entered "Die 13. Junii anno domini 1559 [13 June 1559]," which is probably the date at which Glareanus's reading on the Roman poet began.[42] Copies of Johannes Caesarius's dialectic[43] and Glareanus's work *De asse et partibus eius*[44] also contain lecture notes that probably record Glareanus's courses.[45]

Not all of Glareanus's lectures dealt with the eminently moral work of Livy (as most of his contemporaries saw it). At the ripe age of 66 he ventured to give a course on Suetonius's lives of the Caesars, texts that were hardly considered appropriate to form the character of the young. Since Suetonius offered few "bona exempla", the professor had to explain why he thought it right to expose his students to this questionable material. He did so on 4 April 1554, in the speech that began his course, which was published as an appendix to his 1560 edition of Suetonius.[46] Like the Roman historian Glareanus took care to scarify the Roman emperors for their evil deeds. At the same time, though, he pointed out that evil examples could be portrayed either in an attractive or in a critical light. Suetonius had chosen the second, correct course. Moreover, a frank treatment of the conduct of the Roman emperors provided a background against which the Incarnation of Jesus and the Gospels appeared even more brilliant. It was only

[38] Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal 261.

[39] "Exorsus est Livium D. Henricus Glareanus Helvetius P[oeta] L[aureatus] et ordinarius in alma Friburgensium Academia professor, die 3. Octob: Anni 1558."

[40] Peter Johannes Weber, "Hans Jakob von Staal d. Ä. und seine Beziehungen zu Freiburg im Breisgau," *Jahrbuch für solothurnische Geschichte* 80 (2007), p. 230.

[41] Emil F.J. Müller, "Einleitung," in: Konrad Müller und Hans Keller (ed.), "Glarean. Das Epos vom Heldenkampf bei Näfels und andere bisher ungedruckte Gedichte", *Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins des Kantons Glarus* 53 (1949), p. 154: "Carmen totam fere Glareani vitam complectens quod ipsemet Friburgi publice, antequam Livium explicare inciperet, decantabat Anno Domini MDLVIIII."

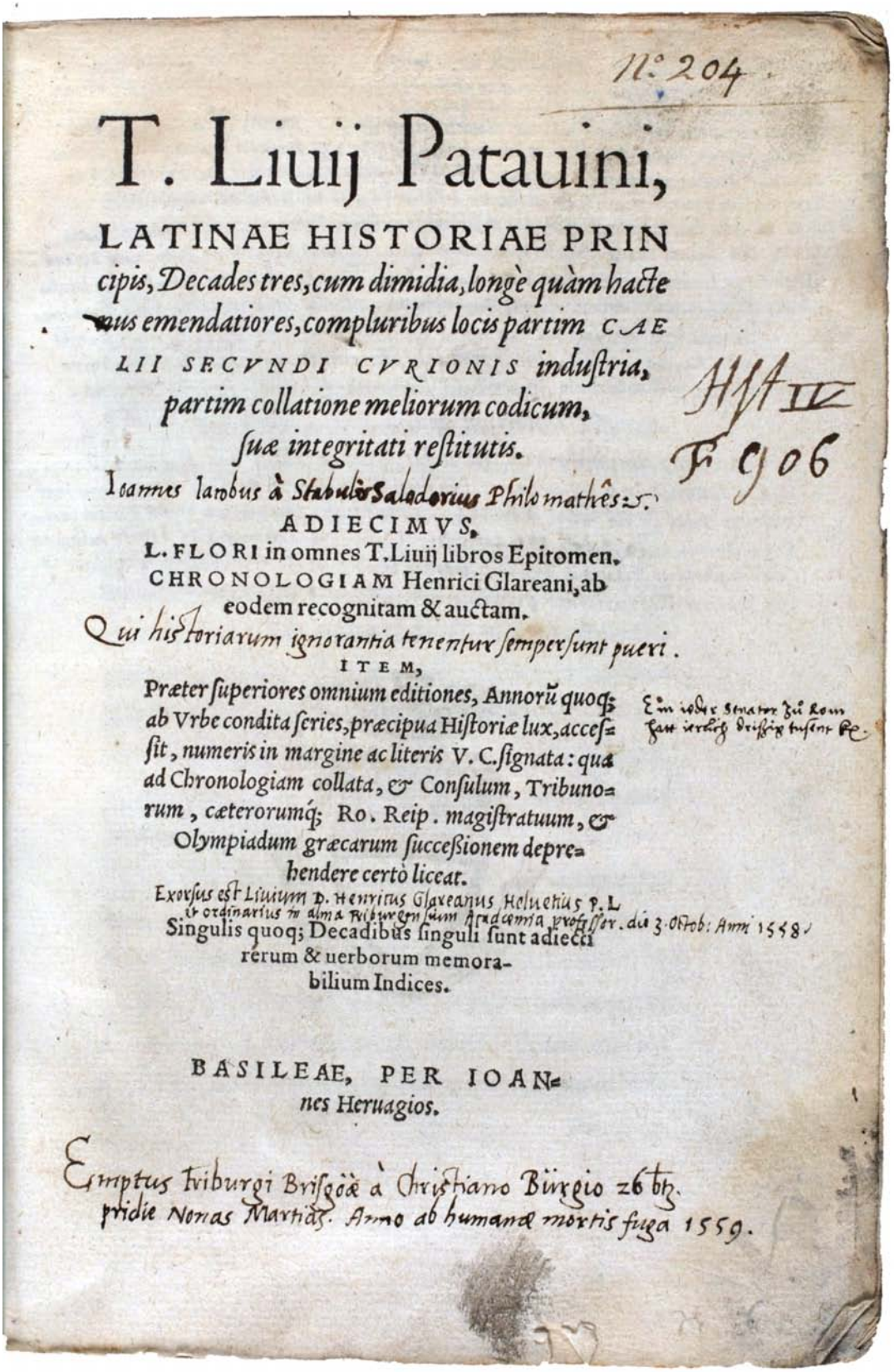
[42] Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal 237.

[43] Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal 237.

[44] Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal I 54.

[45] There is also a copy of Glareanus's *De VI. arithmeticae practicae speciebus ... epitome* (Freiburg: Faber, 1538), which belonged to Hieronymus von Roll from 1551 on. He entered in it his notes on Glareanus's lectures on the text, which took place in September and October 1551. Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 47. For texts used in the classroom and dated with similar precision, see the Parisian cases studied in Anthony Grafton, "*Teacher, Text and Pupil* in the Renaissance Class-Room: A Case Study from a Parisian College," *History of Universities* 1 (1981), pp. 37–70, and Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (London; Duckworth; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

[46] Glareanus, in: C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *XII Caesares* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1560), pp. 58–70.



N.° 204.

T. Liuij Patauini,

LATINAE HISTORIAE PRIN
cipis, Decades tres, cum dimidia, longè quàm hacte
nus emendatiores, compluribus locis partim CAE
LII SECVNDI CVRIONIS industria,
partim collatione meliorum codicum,
ſuæ integritati reſtitutis.

Hist IIC
F 906

Ioannes Iacobus à Stabulio Saladorius Philomathês.

ADIECIMVS,

L. FLORI in omnes T. Liuij libros Epitomen.
CHRONOLOGIAM Henrici Glareani, ab
eodem recognitam & auctam.

Qui historiarum ignorantia tenentur semper sunt pueri.

ITEM,

Præter ſuperiores omnium editiones, Annorũ quoq; ab Vrbe condita ſeries, præcipua Hiſtoriæ lux, acceſſit, numeris in margine ac literis V. C. ſignata: qua ad Chronologiam collata, & Conſulum, Tribunorum, cæterorumq; Ro. Reip. magiſtratuum, & Olympiadum græcarum ſucceſsionem deprehendere certò liceat.

Ein jeder Stratter zů Rom hat jerlich dryſsig tusent Pf.

Exorſus eſt Liuium D. Henricus Glareanus Heluetius P. L. et ordinarius in alma Friburgensium Academia professor. die 3. Octob. Anni 1548.

Singulis quoq; Decadibus ſinguli ſunt adiecti rerum & uerborum memorabilium Indices.

BASILEAE, PER IOANnes Heruagios.

Emptus Friburgi Brisgoiæ à Christiano Bürgio 26 bz. pridie Nonas Martias. Anno ab humanæ mortis fuga 1559.

Fig. 4. Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, Basel, Johannes Herwagen, 1554 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal 261)

appropriate that Glareanus opened the course by performing a song of praise to the birth of Christ.[47]

It also seems clear that Glareanus's successors continued using his edition of Suetonius—and his *Annotationes*—for some time come. The Zentralbibliothek in Zürich possesses a copy in which more than 200 pages of the text of Suetonius (pp. 219–434) bear detailed notes made by a student who bought the book for just over 7 batzen.[48] The ownership mark on the flyleaf reads: "Sum Diethelmi Ulm. Zellensis. Anno [15]89. Friburgi emi" [I belong to Dietheln Ulm of Zell. I bought this in 1589 at Freiburg].

Further evidence shows that Glareanus's teaching of the historians did not always take the form of public lecture courses. The library of the Bertholdsgymnasium in Freiburg im Breisgau includes another of Glareanus's working copies of Suetonius. On the title page he noted that he had begun to explicate this work in a private course on 14 November 1550, three and half years before he offered his public lectures. Private courses normally took place in the individual Bursen or hostels, which were often equipped with splendid libraries.[49] Johann Jakob Beurer, who taught Greek, Latin and history,[50] describes them in his eulogy for the Hellenist Johannes Hartung, who died in 1579:

"In his own private house he created a kind of private university for young men from all of the orders of the nobility and for other well-behaved youths, who came to him in vast numbers. Using his own books on various themes, he instructed them for hours with undiminished zeal. At the same time, he formed them as men of good character, because in his own integrity, modesty and piety, formed on the basis of the moral principles of the ancients, he could serve them as their model. He educated them with deliberate strictness. To confirm my account I can cite as witnesses many of his students, some of whom he taught at the university, and others who were his private pupils."[51]

Glareanus's hostel had more than 30 students in 1542. It was located in the house "zum Arbeiter" at what is now Merianstrasse 9, which he at first rented and then bought in 1538, and later at the house "zum kleinen Christophel" at Merianstrasse 19.[52]

Another Student of Glareanus: Gabriel Hummelberg II (1530–1582?)

As we remarked at the outset, copies of Glareanus's 1540 chronology, loaded almost to bursting with marginalia, are preserved at Solothurn, Paris and Princeton, and the Paris (Fig. 5) and Princeton notes are fully legible. The marginal notes in the Paris copy were entered by Georg Spirer, an otherwise unknown "affinis" of Glareanus, with his own hand, as he wrote on the flyleaf of the book (Fig. 6). The Princeton copy belonged to a student from Feldkirch named Gabriel Hummelberg II. He came from a patrician family, originally based in Ravensburg. The first of them to become prominent in the world of learning was Michael Hummelberg (1487–1527), who took degrees in civil and canon law and, after being ordained a priest, studied the humanities, supporting himself as holder of the revenues of the St. Andreaskaplanei zu St. Michael in Ravensburg. Much can be learned about northern humanism from his correspondence with such prominent

[47] The song is printed with the music in: Henricus Glareanus, *In C. Suetonii ... annotationes* (Basel: Henricus Petrus, 1560), p. 58. The brief text reads: "Grates nunc omnes reddamus Domino Deo, qui sua nativitate nos liberavit de diabolica potestate. Huic oportet ut cantamus cum angelis semper gloria in excelsis." He also began his 1559 course on Livy with a song: his autobiographical poem, 186 lines long, the second part of which is a hymn of praise to Freiburg, the Emperor Charles V and his brother Ferdinand. The text is edited in: Hans Keller, "Glareans autobiographisches Lobgedicht," Müller und Keller (footnote 41), pp. 154–167.

[48] Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: V P 621 f.

[49] Dieter Speck, "Eine Universität für Freiburg ... zu erlöschung des verderblichen fewres menschlicher unvernunft und blintheit ...," (Freiburg and Berlin: Rombach Verlag, 2006), p. 51 and 57 f.

[50] Theodor Kurrus, "Bonae artes. Über den Einfluss des Tridentinums auf die philosophischen Studien der Universtitä Freiburg im Breisgau" in: Remigius Bäumer (ed.), *Von Konstanz nach Trient. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirche von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Tridentinum, Festgabe für August Franzen* (Munich: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1972), p. 616: "Die von Beurer mitversehene Professur für Latein war in Wirklichkeit ein Lehrstuhl für Alte Geschichte. An drei Tagen las er über römische Historiker, wie Sallust, Curtius, Sueton; freitags und samstags gab er eine Überschau der Weltgeschichte seit Erschaffung."

[51] Johann Jacob Beurer, "Gedenkrede auf Johannes Hartung (1583)," ed. Paul Gerhard Schmidt, in: Alf Dieterle (ed.), *Johannes Hartung zum 500. Geburtstag. 1505 Miltenberg—Heidelberg—Freiburg 1579* (Miltenberg: Frankenbund Gruppe Miltenberg, 2005), p. 190 (Latin); p. 169 (German).

[52] Heiko Haumann und Hans Schadek, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, 2, *Vom Bauernkrieg bis zum Ende der habsburgischen Herrschaft* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1994), p. 25.

scholars as Erasmus, Hutten, Reuchlin, Vadian and Zasius.[53] His younger brother Gabriel Hummelberg I (1490–1544)[54] studied in Paris, Montpellier and Italy. In 1517 he settled in Feldkirch, where he practised as a physician. It is likely that he was already working in Isny, where he died on 7 January 1544, by 1532.[55] A medical man with a humanistic training, he edited at least four ancient authors between 1527 and 1542.[56]

All ten children of Gabriel Hummelberg I lived in Feldkirch, where they belonged to the patriciate.[57] The small city (it had around 1,500 inhabitants) flourished both politically and intellectually in the time of the Emperor Maximilian I (d. 1519). Thereafter the suppression of the Reformation and inflation put an end to the city's growth. But humanistic learning continued to be cultivated at a high level, as is clear from the famous Latin school, the best in the diocese of Chur; from the numerous scholarly libraries; from the many famous individuals who either came from Feldkirch or spent time there; and from the large number of university students who originated there. Between 1491 and 1550 almost 300 young men from Feldkirch matriculated at the universities of Freiburg (82), Wittenberg (50), Vienna (50), Basel (35), Leipzig (35), Tübingen (26), Ingolstadt (14), Heidelberg (8) and elsewhere.[58] The most famous library in Feldkrich was certainly that of the Lutheran humanist Achilles Pirmin Gasser, who succeeded Gabriel Hummelberg I as city physician, but had to leave the city in 1546, after the Schmalkaldic War, and moved to Augsburg.[59] His collection included around 3,000 different works, and Ulrich Fugger bought it for 800 Rhenish gulden in 1583.[60] Smaller but significant collections belonged to the humanists Hieronymus Münzer (1437–1508) and Ludwig Rad (1420–1492), the priests Sebald Schad († 1514) and Theabald Schmid, Canon of Chur, and the physicians Ulrich Ellenbog (1435–1499), Gabriel Hummelberg I[61] and Gabriel Hummelberg II. Though the fire of 1697 destroyed many books of great value, a number of volumes from these libraries are still preserved today in the Stadtbibliothek in Feldkirch.[62]

Gabriel Hummelberg's second son, also named Gabriel, followed in his father's professional footsteps. Gabriel studied in Freiburg (1547), Ingolstadt (1551) and Padua (1557), and spent time in Salzburg in 1557. On 27 March 1568 he was offered a position in the medical faculty of the University of Freiburg that came with a yearly salary of 100 gulden. He promised to give an answer before the Feast of Saint George

---

[53] Karl Heinz Burmeister: "Der Humanist und Botaniker Gabriel Hummelberg (ca. 1490–1544)," Elisabeth Geck und Guido Pressler (ed.): *Festschrift für Claus Nissen zum siebzigsten Geburtstag, 2. September 1971* (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1973), p. 44 f.

[54] Ibid., pp. 43–65.

[55] The literature offers various opinons about the year when Gabriel Hummelberg I. died. In the copy of Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis* (Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1545) that belonged to Gabriel Hummelberg II., a marginal note appears on f. 263v, by the name "Gabriel Humelbergius": "Moritur anno 1544 7. Januarii." This note was entered, however, not by Gabriel Hummelberg II., but by one Georg Schweÿckhl/ Schweÿckl ob der kirchenn, to whom Hummelberg II. gave the book in 1562. Stadtbibliothek Feldkirch, call number: AD Hum G II Gessner 1545. The news of Hummelberg's death also interested Konrad Gessner in Zürich. In his own copy of the *Bibliotheca* he wrote: "Mortuus est nuper." Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: Dr M 3.

[56] The works of Pseudo-Musa and Pseudo-Apuleius (1537), Placitus (1539), Serenus (1540, 1581[2]) and Apicius (1542), which Hummelberg edited and commented on, were all printed by Froschauer in Zürich. See also Friedrich Vollmer, "Studien zu dem römischen Kochbuche von Apicius," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse 1920, 6. Abhandlung (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1920), p. 12 f.; Edward Brandt, "Untersuchungen zum römischen Kochbuche. Versuch einer Lösung der Apicius-Frage," *Philologus*, Supplementband 19, 3 (1927), pp. 3–8; Andreas Schmauder (ed.), *Macht der Barmherzigkeit. Lebenswelt Spital, Historische Stadt Ravensburg*, 1 (Constanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2000), p. 105 f.

[57] Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Feldkirch bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts. Geschichte der Stadt Feldkirch*, 2 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1985), p. 168.

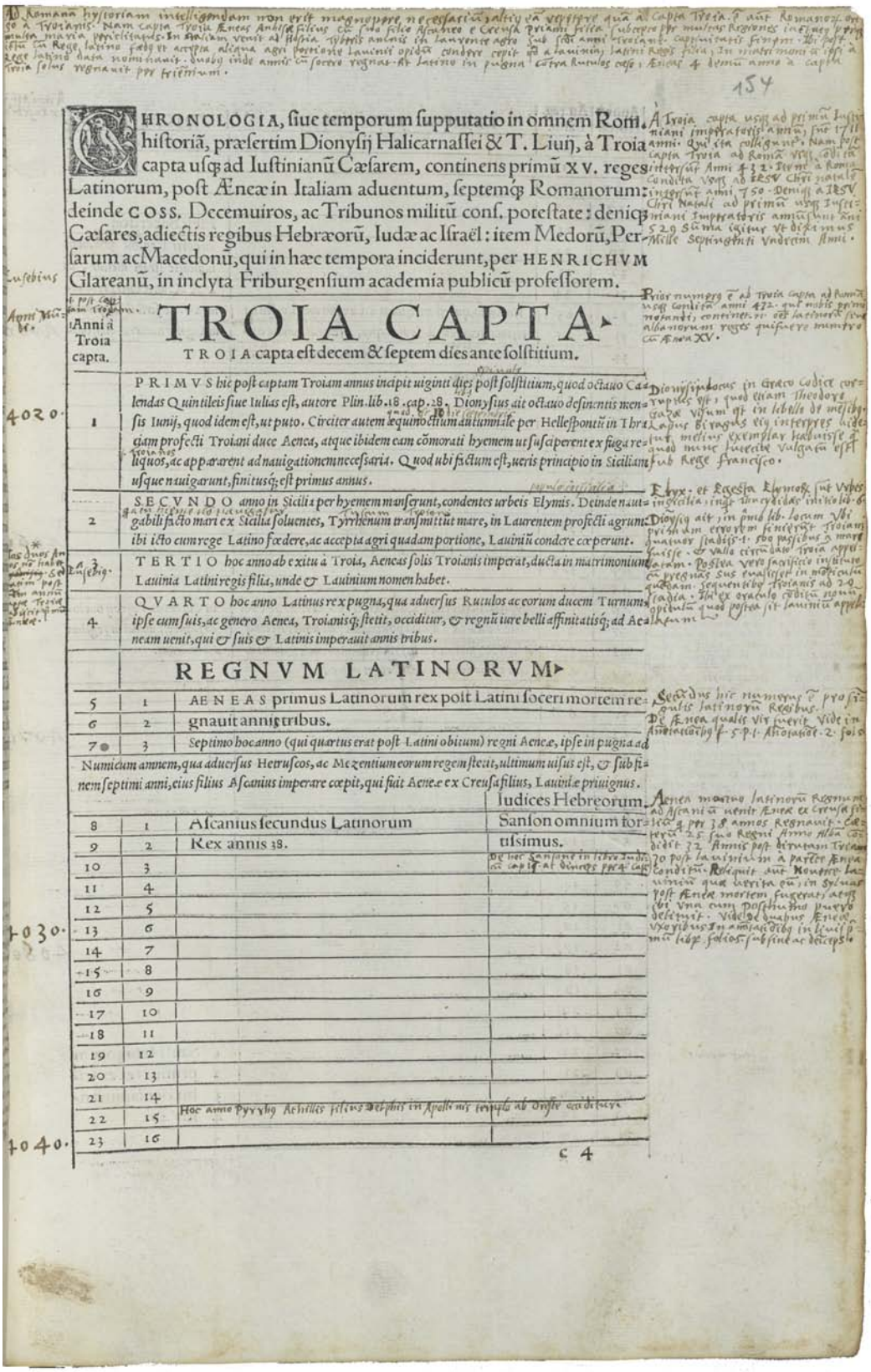
[58] Burmeister (footnote 57), pp. 137–186.

[59] Ibid., p. 174.

[60] Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Achilles Pirmin Gasser 1505–1577: Arzt und Naturforscher, Historiker und Humanist*, I. *Bibliographie* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1970), p. 121 f. Over one hundred volumes survived from his collection in the Stadtbibliothek Mainz. See Klaus Niebler, "Bücher aus der Bibliothek des Augsburger Humanisten Achilles Pirmin Gasser (1505–1577) in der Stadtbibliothek Mainz. Eine Untersuchung zu den Restbeständen der Bibliotheca Palatina," Bibliothekar-Lehrinstitut des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Köln 1973 (unpublished typescript).

[61] Gabriel Hummelberg I. took over the library of his brother Michael after the latter's death in 1527. See Burmeister (footnote 53), p. 51 f.

[62] Karlheinz Albrecht, "Geschichte der Stadtbibliothek Feldkirch," *Innsbrucker Historische Studien* 7/8 (1985), pp. 117–123; Karl Heinz Burmeister, "Humanistenbibliotheken im Bodenseeraum," *Biblos-Schriften*, 90 (Vienna: Vereinigung Österreichischer Bibliothekare, 1977), pp. 101–145.



CHRONOLOGIA, siue temporum supputatio in omnem Rom. historiã, præsertim Dionysij Halicarnassei & T. Liuij, à Troia capta usq; ad Iustinianũ Cæsarem, continens primũ XV. reges Latinorum, post Æneæ in Italiam aduentum, septemq; Romanorum: deinde COSS. Decemuiros, ac Tribunos militũ cons. potestate: denicp Cæsares, adiectis regibus Hebræorũ, Iudæ ac Israël: item Medorũ, Persarum ac Macedonũ, qui in hæc tempora inciderunt, per HENRICHVM Glareanũ, in inclyta Friburgensium academia publicũ professorem.

Eusebius

Anni Mundi

Anni à Troia capta.

TROIA CAPTA

TROIA capta est decem & septem dies ante solstitium.

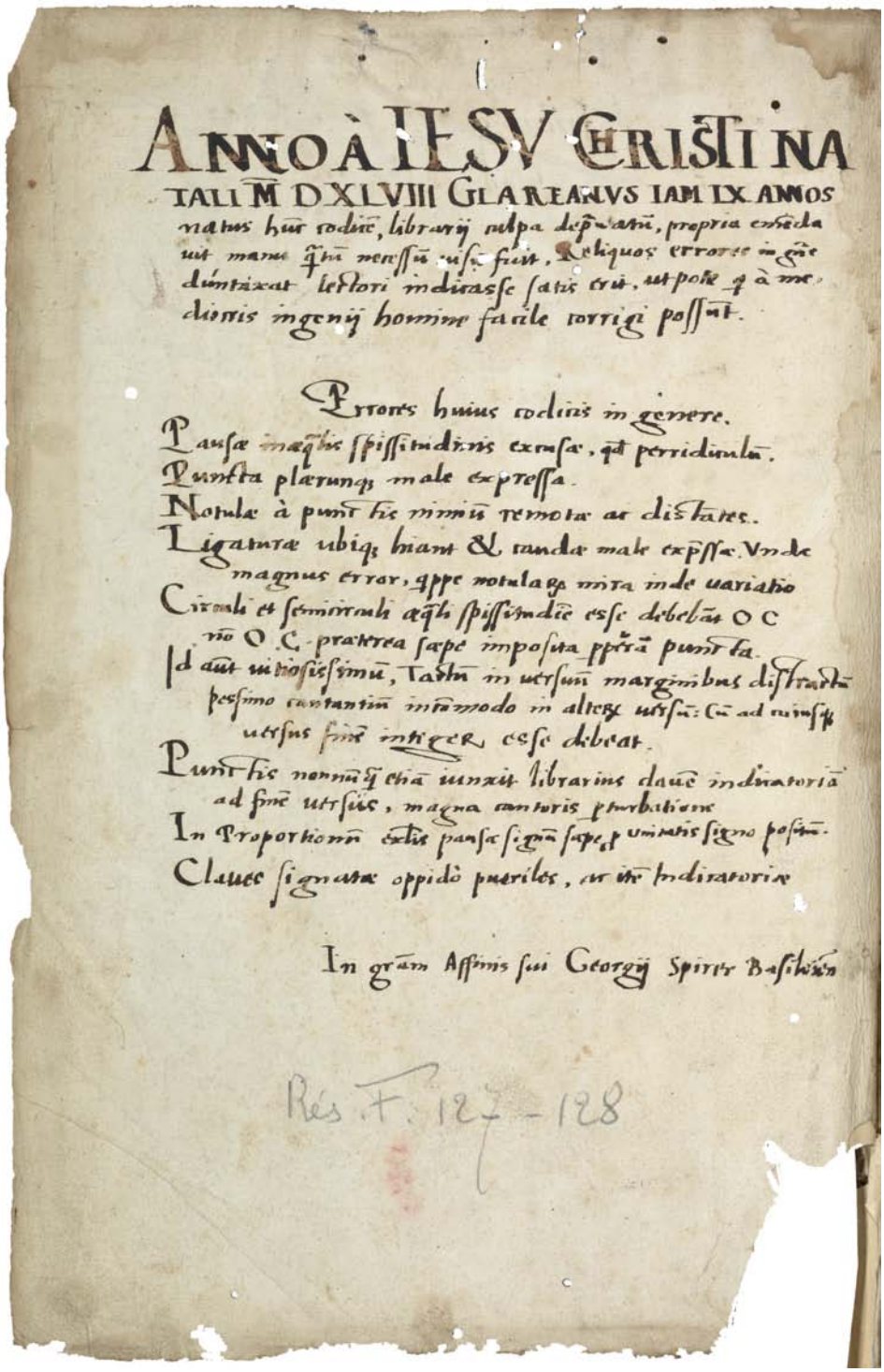
1	PRIMVS hic post captam Troiam annus incipit uiginti dies post solstitium, quod octauo Calendas Quintileis siue Iulias est, autore Plin. lib. 18. cap. 28. Dionysius ait octauo desinentis mensis Iunij, quod idem est, ut puto. Circiter autem æquinoctium autumnale per Hellespontũ in Thraciam profecti Troiani duce Aenea, atque ibidem eam cõmorati hyemem ut susciperent ex fuga relíquos, ac appararent ad nauigationem necessaria. Quod ubi factum est, ueris principio in Siciliam usque nauigarunt, finitusq; est primus annus.
2	SECVNDO anno in Sicilia per hyemem manserunt, condentes urbeis Elymis. Deinde nauigabili facto mari ex Sicilia soluentes, Tyrrhenum transmittũt mare, in Laurentem profecti agrum: ibi icto cum rege Latino fœdere, ac accepta agri quadam portione, Lauinitũ condere cœperunt.
3	TERTIO hoc anno ab exitu à Troia, Aeneas solis Troianis imperat, ducta in matrimonium Lauinia Latini regis filia, unde & Lauinium nomen habet.
4	QVARTO hoc anno Latinus rex pugna, qua aduersus Rutulos ac eorum ducem Turnum ipse cum suis, ac genero Aenea, Troianisq; stetit, occiditur, & regnũ iure belli affinitatisq; ad Aeneam uenit, qui & suis & Latinis imperauit annis tribus.

REGNVM LATINORVM

5	1	AENEAS primus Latinorum rex post Latini soceri mortem re-	
6	2	gnauit annis tribus.	
7	3	Septimo hoc anno (qui quartus erat post Latini obitum) regni Aeneæ, ipse in pugna ad Numicum amnem, qua aduersus Hetruscos, ac Mezentium eorum regem steterat, ultimum uisus est, & sub finem septimi anni, eius filius Ascanius imperare cœpit, qui fuit Aeneæ ex Creusa filius, Lauiniæ priuignus.	
			Iudices Hebreorum.
8	1	Ascanius secundus Latinorum	Sanson omnium for-
9	2	Rex annis 38.	tissimus.
10	3		De hoc Sansone in libro Iudi- cũ copiose. At omnes prædi- cas
11	4		
12	5		
13	6		
14	7		
15	8		
16	9		
17	10		
18	11		
19	12		
20	13		
21	14		
22	15	Hoc anno Pyrrhus Achillis filius Delphis in Apollinis templo ab Oreste occidit fuit	
23	16		

4020. 4030. 4040.

Fig. 5. Henricus Glareanus, *Chronologia*, Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1540, [p. 1] (Bibliothèque nationale de France, call number: Rés F 128)


ANNO À IESV CHRISTI NA
TALI M DXLVIII GLAREANVS IAM LX ANNOS
natus hui⁹ codic⁹, librarij culpa dep⁹uatũ, propria emenda
uit manu q̃tũ necessũ uisũ fuit. Reliquos errores in gẽ
dúntaxat lectori indicasse satis erit, ut pote q à me
diuinis ingenij hominũ facile corrigi possũt.

Errores huius codicis in genere.
Pausæ maq̃bus spissitudinis exp̃sæ, q̃ perridiculũ.
Puncta plærunq; male expressa.
Notulæ à punctis minus remotæ ac distantes.
Ligaturæ ubiq; hiant & tunda male expressæ. Vnde
magnus error, quippe notularũ mira inde uariatio
Circuli et semicirculi aq̃li spissitudĩe esse debebãt O C
no O C. præterea sæpe imposita ꝑpũctã puncta.
Id aut uitiosissimũ, tabũ in uersum margimbus distractã
pessimo cuiusq; modo in alterũ uersũ: cũ ad minimũ
uersus finẽ integer esse debeat.
Puncta nonnũq; etiã uinxit librarius dauũ indicatoriã
ad finẽ uersus, magna cantoris perturbatione
In Proportionũ exitu pausæ signũ sæpe q̃ unitatis signo posuit.
Clauues signaturæ oppidò pueriles, ut ille indicatorius

In grãm Assimis sui Georgij Spirer Basiliẽsis

Rés F. 127 - 128

Fig. 6. Flyleaf of the Paris copy of Henricus Glareanus's *Chronologia*, Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1540, which is bound together with Glareanus's *Dodekachordon*, Basel, Heinrich Petri, 1547 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, call number: Rés F 127–128). The notes by Glareanus on the flyleaf refer to the *Dodekachordon*. Glareanus wrote that he corrected this imprint with a lot of errata by his own hand, but we know, that he only corrected a master-copy and wrote this introductory passage in several copies of his *Dodekachordon* by his own hand. Georg Spirer then transferred his corrections, at least to this Paris volume, containing the *Dodekachordon* and the *Chronologia*

on 23 April.[63] Twenty-three volumes from his library survive.[64]

Hummelberg's copy of Glareanus's chronology

As we have seen, Hummelberg's copy of Glareanus's *Annotationes* and chronological tables now resides in Princeton's Firestone Library (Fig. 7). The book is 65 folio pages long.[65] Hummelberg had matriculated in Freiburg in 1547. We do not know how long he (or his fellow students) stayed at the university.[66] Nor can we establish which Burse he belonged to, since the membership lists begin only in 1567.[67] It seems certain, however, that he was still in Freiburg in February 1549, when he entered the following owner's note on the title page: "Est Gabrielis Humelbergij Veltkirchij R. / Anno Domini Salvatoris nostri MDXLVIIII / Mense februario. friburgi brisgoiae. / Imp. Caes. Carolo V imperante" [Property of Gabriel Hummelberg from Feldkirch. Febuary of AD 1549, at Freiburg im Breisgau. Charles V was emperor.]

On the last page Hummelberg recorded the price of the book: "constat 9 batz[en] friburgj." He bought it as a student, then, for 9 batzen or three fifths of a gulden. Glareanus's yearly salary in Freiburg amounted to 42 gulden,[68] and it cost 40 gulden to keep a student in his Burse for a year.[69] These facts suggest that in the early modern period, books were considerably more expensive than they are today. Only educated members of the patriciate could afford to assemble a large collection even of printed books.[70] The average Freiburg student had around 35 titles in his library. The case of Jakob Bitzenhoffer, who died around 1570 and who owned some 100 juridical and philological texts, must be seen as an exception.[71]

Hummelberg entered notes, supplements and corrections throughout Glareanus's tables. On the title page he claimed that he had copied Glareanus's own notes into his text with his own hand: "Et in eandem [chronologiam] eiusdem Glareani annotationibus in margine scriptis manu Gabrielis Humelbergii Secundi." These notes, in other words, do not represent the record or transcript of a lecture. Instead they represent Glareanus's own efforts to correct and enlarge his 1540 Chronology, perhaps in preparation for a new edition—though none appeared. Relations between professors and students were often close, and teaching often went on at home as well as at the university. Students certainly had the chance to visit and become acquainted with their professors' libraries, and on occasion to use them.

Glareanus expected his students to use his books. In various volumes of his private library he entered manuscript annotations designed to help readers grapple with their texts. In his copy of his *De asse et partibus eius* (Basel 1551), he explained that he had designed his marginal notes to facilitate comprehension: "Glareanus Lectori: Quae nostra manu huc pinximus, studiose lector, etiam atque etiam tecum

[63] Universitätsarchiv Freiburg im Breisgau, Senatsprotokoll for 27 March 1568 (A 10/9): "Gabriel Hummelberger Feldkirchensis Medicinae doctor comparavit coram universitate, cum quo actum est (iuxta ea quae decreta sunt supra folio 114) an universitati velit inservire profitendo, et lectioni in medica facultate praeesse, et oblati sunt ei centum floreni pro annuo salario. Respondit, se iam nihil certi respondere posse, responsurum autem brevi, usque ad festum Georgii." The Universitätsarchiv Freiburg could not establish whether a reply from Hummelberg was received by 23 April. The university did pay for his expenses. In the inventory of the Universitätsarchiv Freiburg A 40 (Beilagen zur Quästurrechnung), which Horst Ruth compiled in 1997/98, it is stated on p. 197 that in Signatur 967, Vorsignatur 1: IIIbã2, there is a receipt, which documents that the keeper of the "Wilder Mann" in Freiburg, Johann Renner, received a reimbursement for the bill of Dr. Gabriel Hummelberg from Feldkirch.

[64] Since the electronic catalogue of the Feldkirch library has some inconsistencies and errors, this figure rests on research done by Urs Leu when he visited the collection on 5 February 2010 and on Gerlinde Sauermann, "Katalog der Inkunabeln und Frühdrucke in der Stadtbibliothek Feldkirch," in: Karlheinz Albrecht, *Stadtbibliothek Feldkirch. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 28. September bis 4. November 1979*, pp. 71–94. In addition to the 20 titles listed by Sauermann three more come from the collection of Hummelberg II: Nicolaus Perottus (63 in Sauermann), Erasmus of Rotterdam (71) and Konrad Gessner (75).

[65] Firestone Library, Princeton University, call number: 2010–0227Q.

[66] See Weber (footnote 40), p. 230.

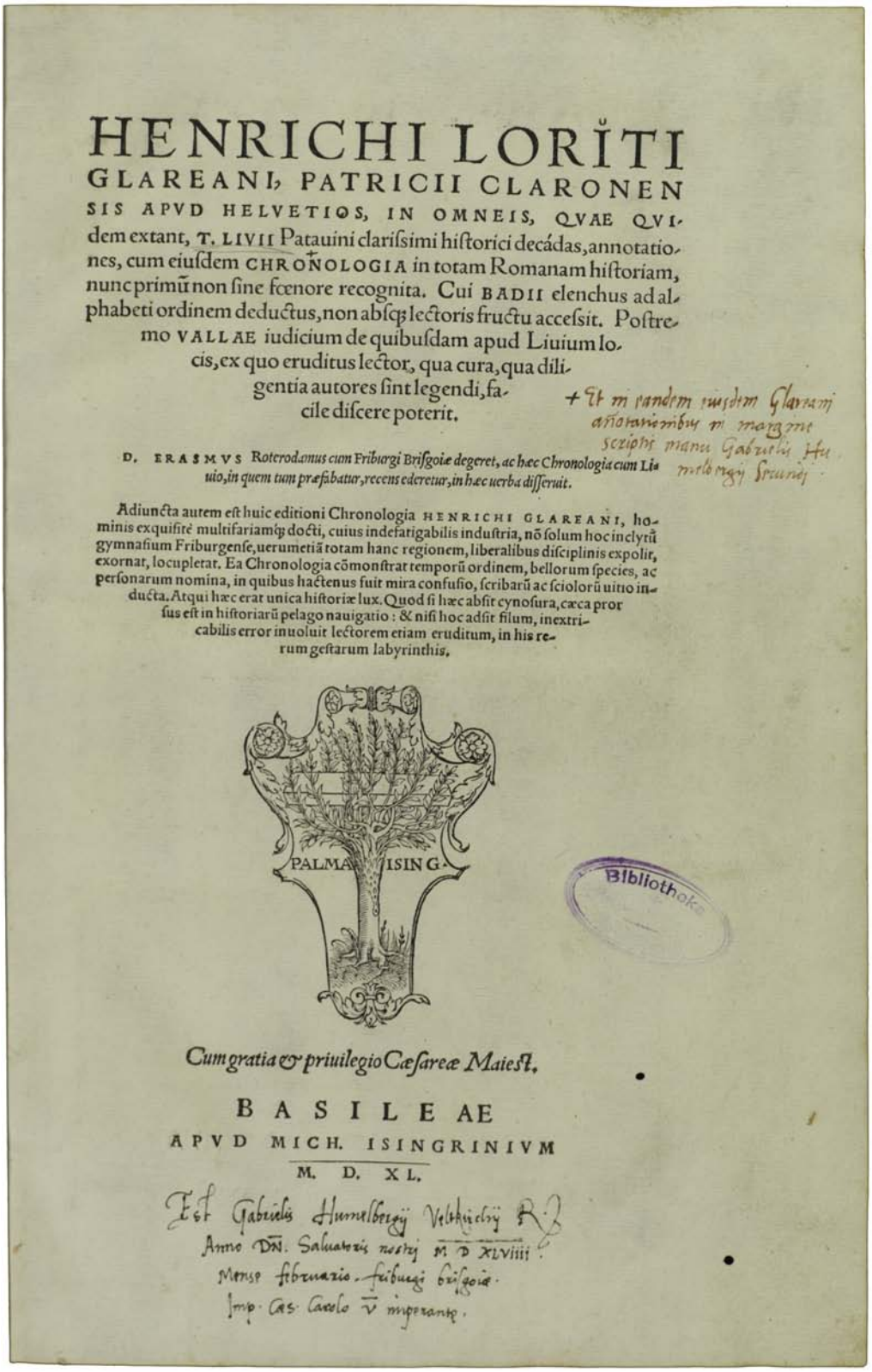
[67] Information kindly supplied by Alexander Zahoransky of the Universitätsarchiv Freiburg. The closest list covers the years 1567–1571 (A 27/1).

[68] See Glareanus's contract, Universitätsarchiv Freiburg, A 86/22. Professors in the Faculty of Arts were not so well paid as their colleagues in the other faculties. See Paul Gerhald Schmidt, "Lehrt da gut Sprachn und Künsten frey. Johannes Hartung als Universitätslehrer," in: Dieterle (footnote 51), p. 104.

[69] See Glareanus to Johannes Aal, 8 January 1547, in: E. Tatarinoff, *Die Briefe Glareans an Johannes Aal, Stiftsprobst in Solothurn, aus den Jahren 1538–1550* (Solothurn: Zepfel'sche Buchdruckerei, 1895), p. 43: "Multos ablego a domo neque nempe est quicquid lucri in convictoribus mihi, qui omnia emere ab aliis soleo (schmer von der katzen). Quadraginta aureos singuli mihi solvunt in mensam, lectiones, lectum et censum domus."

[70] Cf. Urs B. Leu and Sandra Weidmann, *Heinrich Bullingers Privatbibliothek. Heinrich Bullinger Werke*, Abt. 1: *Bibliographien*, 3 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2004), pp. 24–28.

[71] *Aus der Werkstatt. Den deutschen Bibliothekaren zu ihrer Tagung in Freiburg, Pfingsten MCMXXV, dargebracht von der Universitätsbibliothek* (Freiburg: C.A. Wagner, 1925), pp. 29–30.



HENRICHI LORĬTI
GLAREANI, PATRICII CLARONEN
SIS APVD HELVETIOS, IN OMNEIS, QVAE QVI-
dem extant, T. LIVII Patauini clariſsimi hiſtorici decádas, annotatio-
nes, cum eiuſdem CHRONOLOGIA in totam Romanam hiſtoriam,
nunc primū non ſine fœnore recognita. Cui BADII elenchus ad al-
phabeti ordinem deductus, non abſq; lectoris fructu acceſsit. Poſtre-
mo VALLAE iudicium de quibuſdam apud Liuium lo-
cis, ex quo eruditus lector, qua cura, qua dili-
gentia autores ſint legendi, fa-
cile diſcere poterit.

+ Et in eandem eiusdem Glareani annotationibus in margine scriptis manu Gabrielis Hu melbergij Seruiij

D. ERASMVS Roterodamus cum Friburgi Briſgoiæ degeret, ac hæc Chronologia cum Liuio, in quem tum præfabatur, recens ederetur, in hæc uerba diſſeruit.

Adiuncta autem eſt huic editioni Chronologia HENRICHI GLAREANI, ho-
minis exquiſitè multifariamq; docti, cuius indefatigabilis induſtria, nō ſolum hoc inclytū
gymnaſium Friburgenſe, uerumetiā totam hanc regionem, liberalibus diſciplinis expolit,
exornat, locupletat. Ea Chronologia cōmonſtrat temporū ordinem, bellorum ſpecies, ac
perſonarum nomina, in quibus hactenus fuit mira confuſio, ſcribarū ac ſciolorū uitio in-
ducta. Atqui hæc erat unica hiſtoriæ lux. Quod ſi hæc abſit cynoſura, cæca pror
ſus eſt in hiſtoriarū pelago nauigatio: & niſi hoc adſit filum, inextri-
cabilis error inuoluit lectorem etiam eruditum, in his re-
rum geſtarum labyrinthis.

PALMA ISIN G.

Bibliotheke

Cum gratia & priuilegio Cæſareæ Maieſt.

BASILEAE
APVD MICH. ISINGRINIVM
M. D. XL.

Est Gabrielis Hummelbergij Veltkirchij R.
Anno DN. Saluatoris nostri M D XLVIIII.
Mense februario. Friburgi brisgoiæ.
Imp. Cæs. Carolo V imperante.

Fig. 7. Henricus Glareanus, *Chronologia*, Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1540, from the private library of Gabriel Hummelberg II. (Princeton University Library, call number: 2010-0227Q)

meditare ac tuae infigas memoriae, videbis magnum huius rei tibi fructum, ac velut tibi apertam, ad omnia in hoc libro sequentia, ianuam." [Glareanus to the reader: What we have written here by our own hand, dear reader, you should ponder again and again, and it should be imprinted on your memory. You will find that this is very profitable for you, and it will serve you as a sort of open door to the rest of the material in this book.][72]

Glareanus's annotations on *De asse et partibus eius*, including the remarks just cited, reappear in another copy of the work, which belonged to Johann Jakob vom Staal and is preserved in the Zentralbibliothek Solothurn (Fig. 8).[73] Vom Staal noted on the title page (Fig. 9) that Glareanus had given his lectures in 1558. In 1559, the year when he obtained the book, Johann Georg von Werdenstein (1542–1608)[74] a fellow student two years younger than he was, had allowed him to copy the notes: "Auspicatus est D. Glareanus librum de Asse 18 die Julij 1558. Sequenti vero anno, cum pulcherrimi ac scite depicti codicis copiam nobis fecisset imaginibus et eruditione nobilissimus iuvenis Io. Georgius a Werdenstein, per me Ioannem Iacobum 1559 ad amussim descriptus est. Et ad calcem pridie D. Bartholomaei perductus" [Glareanus began to lecture on De asse on 18 July, 1558. But in the following year, when the erudite young Johann Georg von Werdenstein allowed me to use his very handsome and cleverly illustrated text, I, Johann Jakob, copied it with absolute precision in 1559, I finished the job on the eve of St Bartholomew [August 23]. This case shows that students did not always work from Glareanus's originals, relying instead on careful copies made by their colleagues.

The Universitätsbibliothek in Munich possesses a copy of Glareanus's edition of Suetonius with *Annotationes* bound in, which a student named Johann Egolph from Knöringen obtained in Freiburg in 1560. Comparison with the notes that Glareanus entered in his own working copy of Suetonius (Cologne, 1527) suggests that this student also had direct access to his teacher's copy. As Inga Mai Groote has observed, "professors allowed students to copy their remarks, or in some cases made them available after the formal dictation, since different students have left notes that correspond closely with one another."[75]

The manuscript annotations of Glareanus and his students fall into three categories, and those of the students differ very little from those of their teacher. They include manuscript titles for sections; commentaries, sometimes very detailed, on the substance of the texts; and shorter interlinear notes providing the meanings of words and synonyms for them (or, in the case of his Livy chronology, further facts and dates). It is not clear if Glareanus had a model in mind when he divided his observations up in this manner (Fig. 10). Interestingly, Vadian's students did the same.[76]

Traditionally, scholars have assumed that in the German-speaking world of the early sixteenth century, lectures were presented by dictation, and student transcripts were relatively similar to one

---

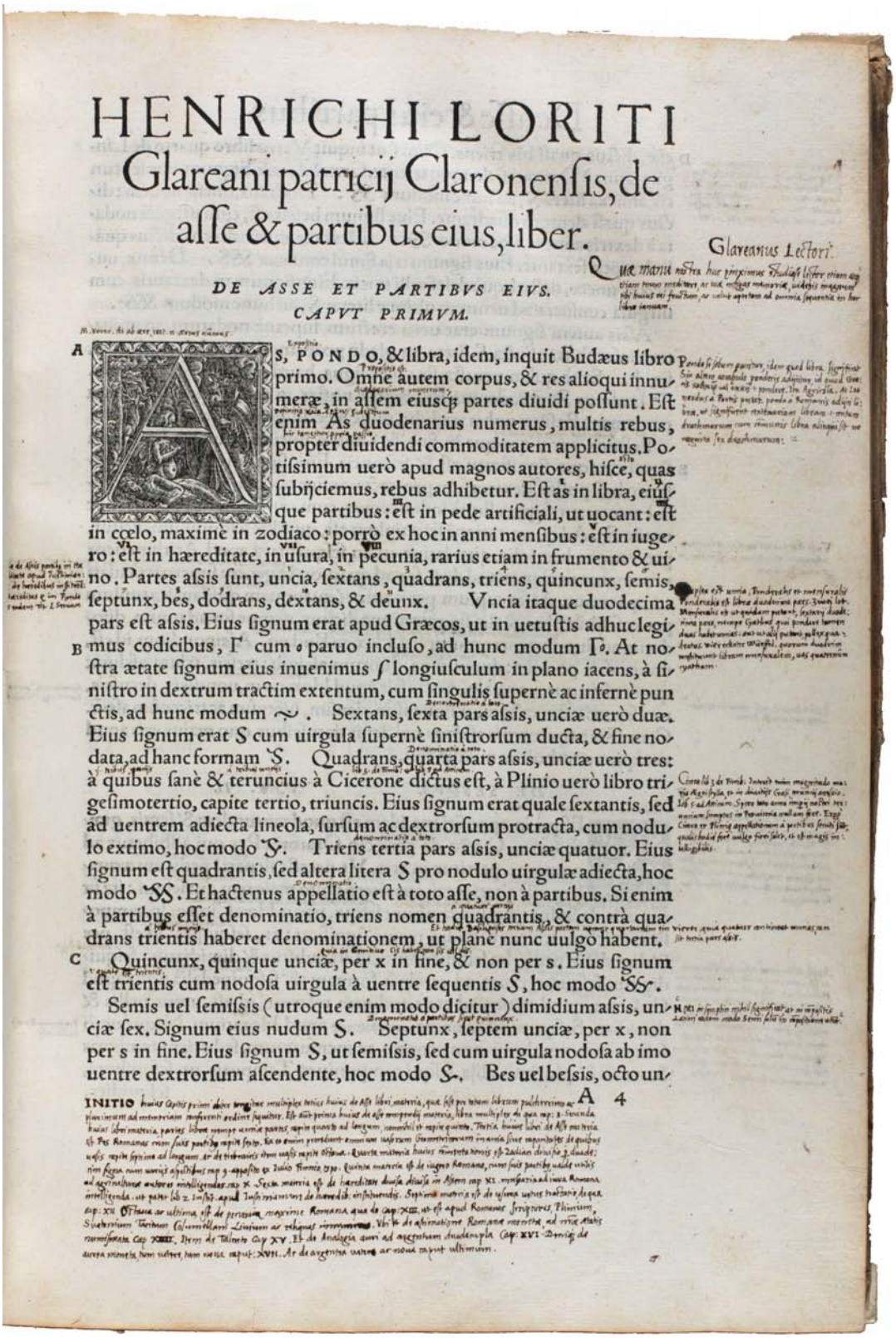
[72] Henricus Glareanus, *De asse et partibus eius* (Basel: Michael Isengrin, 1550), f. 1r (call number: UB München, W 2° H.aux. 420#1).

[73] Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal I 54.

[74] Glareanus donated to Werdenstein a copy of his *Musicae epitome* (Basel 1559) which is today preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München. See: Susan Forscher Weiss, "Vandals, Students or Scholars? Handwritten Clues in Renaissance Music Textbooks", in: Russell E. Murray, Susan Forscher Weiss and Cynthia J. Cyrus (eds): *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 217 and 243.

[75] Inga Mai Groote, "Studenten bei Glarean," in: Inga Mai Groote (ed.), *Blicke über den Seitenrand. Der Humanist Heinrich Glarean und seine Bücher, Katalog zur Ausstellung der Universitätsbibliothek München, 19.4.–30.6.2010*, 55 (http://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/11471/1/HG_katalog_11471.pdf). See also Inga Mai Groote and Bernhard Kölbl, "Glarean the Professor and His Students' Books: Copied Lecture Notes," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*; 73 (2011), pp. 61–91.

[76] Cf. Erasmus of Rotterdam's suggestions for systematic annotation, given in "De ratione studii", in: *Collected Works of Erasmus, Literary and Educational Writings* 2, edited by Craig R. Thompson (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 670: "Informed then by all this you will carefully observe when reading writers whether any striking word occurs, if diction is archaic or novel, if some argument shows brilliant invention or has been skilfully adapted from elsewhere, if there is any brilliance in the style, if there is any adage, historical parallel, or maxim worth committing to memory. Such a passage should be indicated by some appropriate mark. For not only must a variety of marks be employed but appropriate ones at that, so that they will immediately indicate their purpose." On methods of annotation and excerpting see above all Ann Moss, *Printed commonplace-books and the structuring of Renaissance thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), and Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: managing scholarly information before the modern age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).



HENRICHI LORITI
Glareani patricij Claronensis, de
asse & partibus eius, liber.

Glareanus Lectori.

DE ASSE ET PARTIBVS EIVS.
CAPVT PRIMVM.

A S, PONDO, & libra, idem, inquit Budæus libro primo. Omne autem corpus, & res alioqui innumeræ, in assem eiusq; partes diuidi possunt. Est enim As duodenarius numerus, multis rebus, propter diuidendi commoditatem applicitus. Potissimum uerò apud magnos autores, hisce, quas subijciemus, rebus adhibetur. Est as in libra, eiusque partibus: est in pede artificiali, ut uocant: est in cœlo, maximè in zodiaco: porrò ex hoc in anni mensibus: est in iugero: est in hæreditate, in usura, in pecunia, rarius etiam in frumento & uino. Partes asis sunt, uncia, sextans, quadrans, triens, quincunx, semis, septunx, bes, dodrans, dextans, & deunx. Vncia itaque duodecima pars est asis. Eius signum erat apud Græcos, ut in uetustis adhuc legimus codicibus, Γ cum o paruo incluso, ad hunc modum Γo. At nostra ætate signum eius inuenimus ſ longiusculum in plano iacens, à sinistro in dextrum tractim extentum, cum singulis supernè ac infernè punctis, ad hunc modum ~. Sextans, sexta pars asis, unciæ uerò duæ. Eius signum erat S cum uirgula supernè sinistrorsum ducta, & fine nodata, ad hanc formam Ꝭ. Quadrans, quarta pars asis, unciæ uerò tres: à quibus sanè & teruncius à Cicerone dictus est, à Plinio uerò libro trigesimotertio, capite tertio, triuncis. Eius signum erat quale sextantis, sed ad uentrem adiecta lineola, sursum ac dextrorsum protracta, cum nodulo extimo, hoc modo Ꝭ. Triens tertia pars asis, unciæ quatuor. Eius signum est quadrantis, sed altera litera S pro nodulo uirgulæ adiecta, hoc modo Ꝭ. Et hactenus appellatio est à toto asse, non à partibus. Si enim à partibus esset denominatio, triens nomen quadrantis, & contrà quadrans trientis haberet denominationem, ut plane nunc uulgò habent.

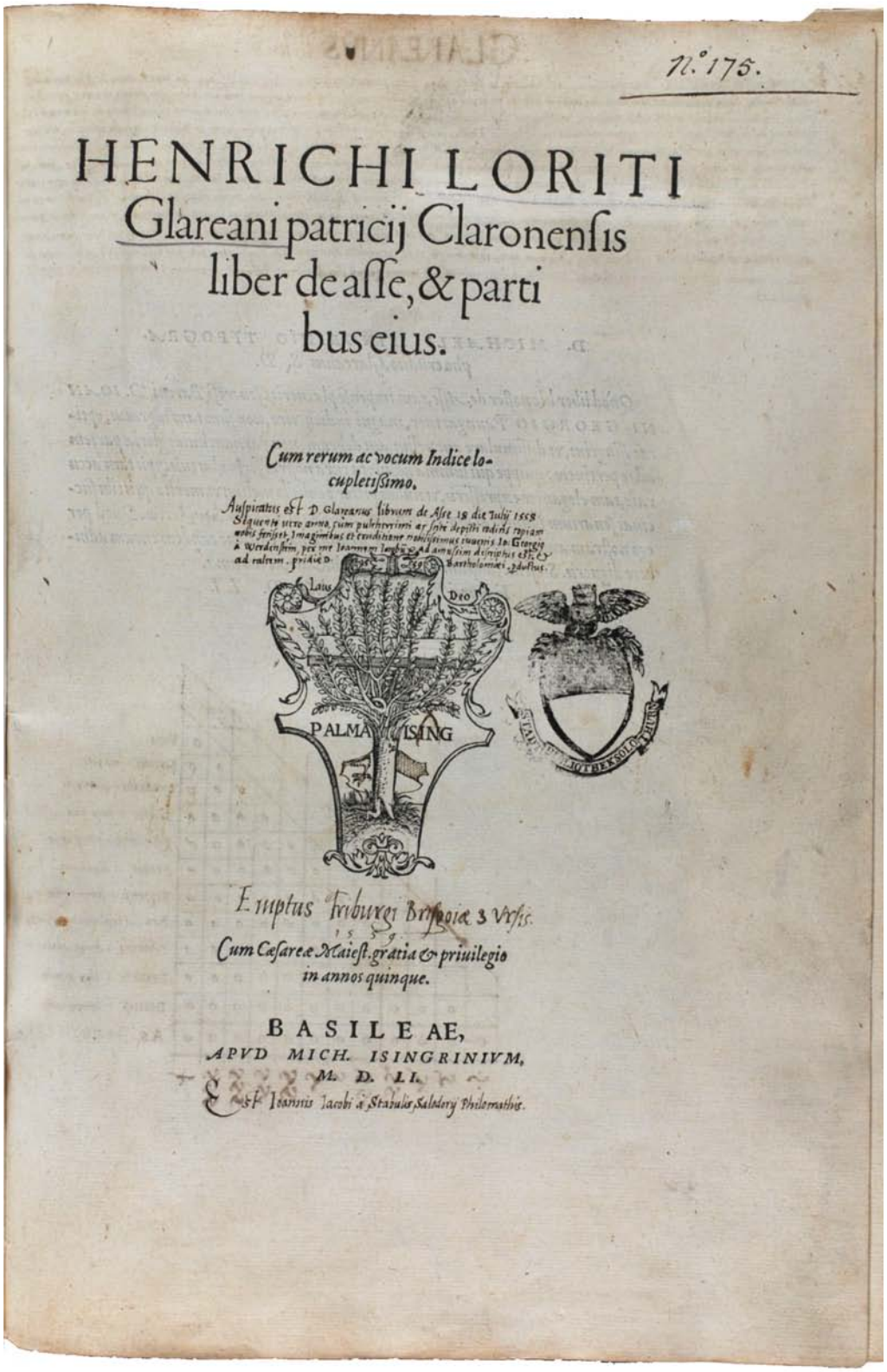
C Quincunx, quinque unciæ, per x in fine, & non per s. Eius signum est trientis cum nodosa uirgula à uentre sequentis S, hoc modo Ꝭ.

Semis uel semissis (utroque enim modo dicitur) dimidium asis, unciæ sex. Signum eius nudum S. Septunx, septem unciæ, per x, non per s in fine. Eius signum S, ut semissis, sed cum uirgula nodosa ab imo uentre dextrorsum ascendente, hoc modo S. Bes uel bessis, octo un-

INITIO huius Opris primi libri sequitur de Asse libri materia, quæ est pro totius libri partitione ac ordine. Secunda huius libri materia, pariter libri sequitur de Asse compositi materia, libra multiplici de qua cap: 3. Tertia huius libri materia est de Pedibus Romanis eorum fuit partibus capit sequit. Quarta materia huius sequenta horum est de Zodiaco deinde 3. duodecim signis eorum nomis significationibus cap 9. appositis et Iulio Firmico 550. Quinta materia est de signis Romanis, eorum fuit partibus unde unibus ad agrorum mensuras ordine mensiligendas cap 10. Sexta materia est de hæreditate diuisa diuisa in Asses cap XI. sumptuaria ad iuris Romani intelligenda. ut patet lib 2. Inst. apud Iustinianum de hæreditatibus instituendis. Septima materia est de usuris unius tractatus de qua cap: XII. Octaua ac ultima est de pecunia magnitudine Romana quæ de cap: XIII. ut est apud Romanos Scriptores, Plinium, Suetonium Tacitum Cæsarem Hirtium Liuium ac reliquos nominatos. Vbi de de affirmatione Romanæ monetæ, ad uetæ Italiæ nummorum. Cap XIII. Item de Talento Cap XV. Et de Analogia auri ad argentum duodecupla Cap: XVI. Denique de aurea moneta, hoc uidet hoc uetus. caput: XVII. Ac de argentea uetere ac nouo capite ultimum.

A 4

Fig. 8. Henricus Glareanus, *De asse et partibus eius*, Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1551, f. 1r (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal I 54)


N.° 175.

HENRICHI LORITI
Glareani patricij Claronensis
liber de asse, & parti
bus eius.

Cum rerum ac vocum Indice locupletissimo.

Auspicatus est D. Glareanus librum de Asse 18 die Iulij 1558
Sequenti vero anno, cum pulcherrimi ac suis deputi radiis rapiam
nobis ferijsset, Imaginibus et eruditione nonnihil cumulavi. Io. Georgij
à Werdenstein, per me Ioannem Iacobum ad amussim descriptus est, et
ad calcem, pridie D. Bartholomæi, adiectus.

Laus Deo

PALMA ISING

Emptus Friburgi Brisgoiæ 3 Vrsis.
1559
Cum Cæsareæ Maiest. gratia & priuilegio
in annos quinque.

BASILEAE,
APVD MICH. ISINGRINIVM,
M. D. LI.

Est Ioannis Iacobi à Stabulis Saldorij Philomathis.

Fig. 9. Henricus Glareanus, *De asse et partibus eius*, Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1551 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Staal I 54)

F. Baptiste Mantuani.
De Incarnatione, Prīs Oratio
ta vix Phosphoros hora Rorātē sternebat equū, Verg. Eoasq; domos Arabū pictosq; Gelonos, Idē in eisdē georgicis. Aut cū Sole nouo terras irrorat Heous. Garrula Hirūdo. volucrū soli hirūdini flexuosi volatus velox celeritas: qbus ex causis neq; rapinę cęterū alitū obnoxia ē. Eadē demū sola alitū nō nisi in volatu pascitur. Author Plynius.
ASCEN,
Tamen

Fig. 10. Baptista Mantuanus, *Opera*, vol. 1, Paris, Jehan Petit, 1513, f. 25v (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: Rq 1). Glareanus's working copy, with notes of three kinds: subject headings, substantive comments, and definitions. His student Johann Jakob Halbmeier transcribed many of these notes in his own copy of Baptista Mantuanus (Venedig 1499), now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (call number: 4 Inc.c.a. 1652 a/1)

another.[77] More recent research, however, has modified this picture. Lecture transcripts varied in form from almost word-for-word reproductions of what had been said to free and individualistic restatements.[78]

Consider, for example, the previously unknown lecture course of Glareanus on Cicero's *De officiis*. This was a private lecture, given by Glareanus in his hostel. The Zentralbibliothek Solothurn preserves two different versions of this course, both entered in copies of a 1541 edition of Cicero's text.[79] The students' notes on the title pages indicate that Glareanus offered this course in October 1544 and again in October 1547 (Figs. 11 and 12). Remarkably, the interlinear notes with their synonyms and definitions for individual words are in part quite different. Evidently the students and their teacher read the original text together. Each student preserved the points he thought important in his book. By contrast, the notes on content in the margins were evidently entered in a very different way. They are largely identical, which suggests that they come from a common source. In addition, in both copies the marginal notes begin with large initials, written more heavily than the others. They seem designed to help the reader orientate himself in the text (Figs. 13 and 14). Perhaps, Glareanus indicated somehow as he lectured that a longer comment would have to be entered at each relevant point, and the members of his audience or other students who had heard the lectures copied these at night in their rooms. It is also possible, though, that Glaarean read the entire commentary aloud, and that the students used big or thick letters to indicate that something must be entered.

Analysis of a lecture course on Solinus, *De mirabilibus mundi*, which the St. Gall humanist Vadian began at the University of Vienna on 14 or 15 December 1517, yields a similar picture. Two sets of notes of the same lecture survive, both entered in printed texts of Solinus. One of them is the work of an unknown student who dated the beginning of the course to 15 December on the title page of his Venice 1498 edition of the text.[80] The other is the work of an equally unidentifiable person, who remarked in his 1500 Bologna edition that the course ran from 14 December 1517 to 9 March 1518 (Figs. 15 and 16).[81] Comparison shows at once that the two students made their notes independently from one another (Figs. 17 and 18). Their transcripts correspond word for word only in cases when central technical matters are discussed: for example, maps or tables. Apparently Vadian wrote or drew these latter notes, perhaps on a sort of blackboard, from which his listeners could copy everything accurately into their texts. Or perhaps, as in the case of Glareanus, the students had access to his study to complete their notes. This contextual evidence confirms that Hummelberg's notes on Glareanus's chronology cannot have derived from lectures.

Finally, it should be remarked that the Paris copy is bound with the Basel 1547 edition of Glareanus's *Dodekachordon*. On the verso of the flyleaf Glareanus himself recorded the fact that he had corrected this codex—by which he meant the *Dodekachordon*—at the age of 60, with his own hand, at least to the extent that seemed necessary, since the printer had done such a terrible job.[82] Glareanus indicated that he had corrected a copy of the printed text with his own hand, so that its corrections could then be copied again in other copies. Minor errors he simply listed for the reader in summary form, since anyone could correct them for himself—a form of active reading

[77] Gabriele Schmidt-Lauber, *Luthers Vorlesung über den Römerbrief 1515/6. Ein Vergleich zwischen Martin Luthers Manuskript und den studentischen Nachschriften*, Archiv zur Weimarer Ausgabe der Werke Martin Luthers. Texte und Untersuchungen 6 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), p. 10 f.; Jürgen Leonhardt, "Eine Leipziger Vorlesung über Ciceros De legibus aus dem Jahre 1514", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance-Mitteilungen* 26 (2002), pp. 26–39; Miriam Bräuer, Jürgen Leonhardt and Claudia Schindler, "Zum humanistischen Vorlesungsbetrieb an der Universität Leipzig", in: Enno Bünz und Franz Fuchs (ed.), *Der Humanismus an der Universität Leipzig. Akten des in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Lehrstuhl für Sächsische Landesgeschichte an der Universität Leipzig, der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig und dem Leipziger Geschichtsverein am 9./10. November 2007 in Leipzig veranstalteten Symposiums*, Pirckheimer Jahrbuch für Renaissance- und Humanismusforschung 23 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), pp. 201–216.

[78] Thanks to Jürgen Leonhardt for providing this information by email in September 2010.

[79] Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call numbers: RAR 1963 and RAR 1972.

[80] Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern, call number: Ink.975.8 (the second work in order of binding in this volume).

[81] Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: 4.197_2, f. [4v] and f. 86v.

[82] Frank Hieronymus, *1488 Petri / Schwabe 1988. Eine traditionsreiche Basler Offizin im Spiegel ihrer frühen Drucke*, vol. 2 (Basel: Schwabe, 1997), pp. 915–921.

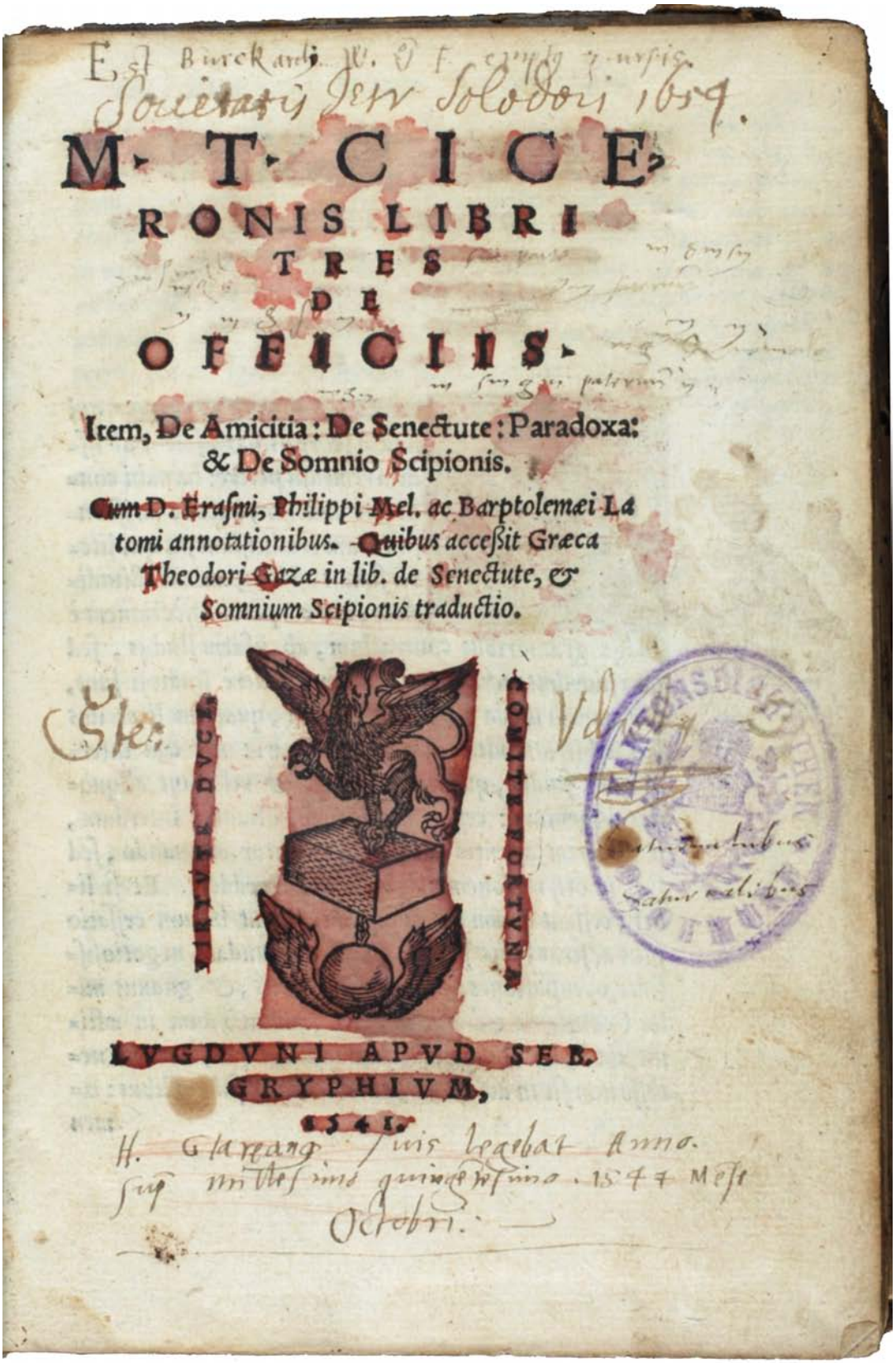
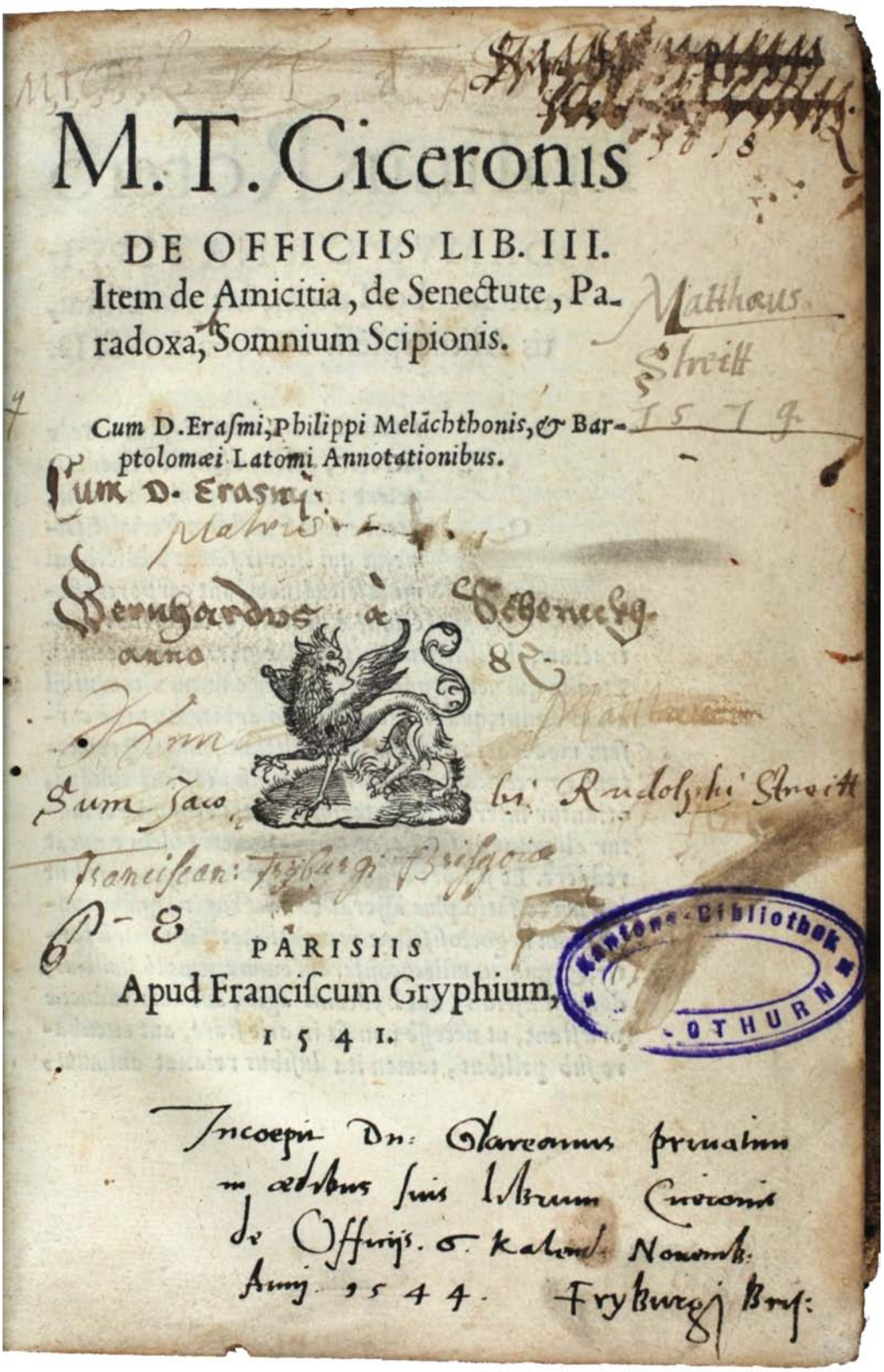

M. T. CICERONIS LIBRI TRES DE OFFICIIS.
Item, De Amicitia: De Senectute: Paradoxa: & De Somnio Scipionis.
Cum D. Erasmi, Philippi Mel. ac Barptolemæi Latomi annotationibus. Quibus accessit Græca Theodori Gazæ in lib. de Senectute, & Somnium Scipionis traductio.
LVGDVNI APVD SEB. GRYPHIVM,
1541.

Fig. 11. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Lyon, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1541, (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 1963)


M. T. Ciceronis

DE OFFICIIS LIB. III.

Item de Amicitia, de Senectute, Paradoxa, Somnium Scipionis.

Cum D. Eraſmi, Philippi Melãchthonis, & Bartholomæi Latomi Annotationibus.

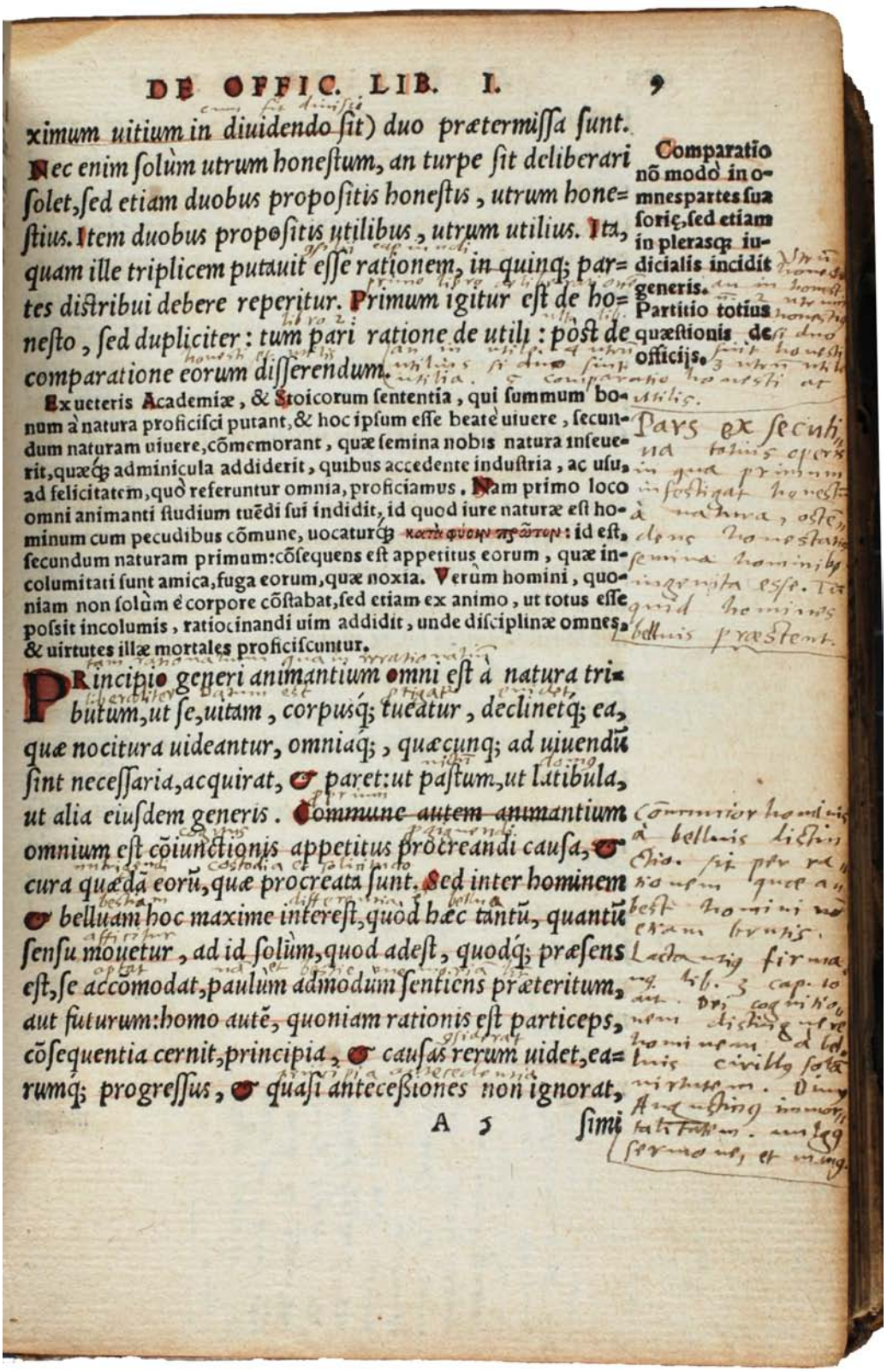
PARISIIS

Apud Franciſcum Gryphium,

1541.

Kantons-Bibliothek SOLOTHURN

Fig. 12. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Paris, Franciscus Gryphius, 1541 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 1972)



DE OFFIC. LIB. I. 9

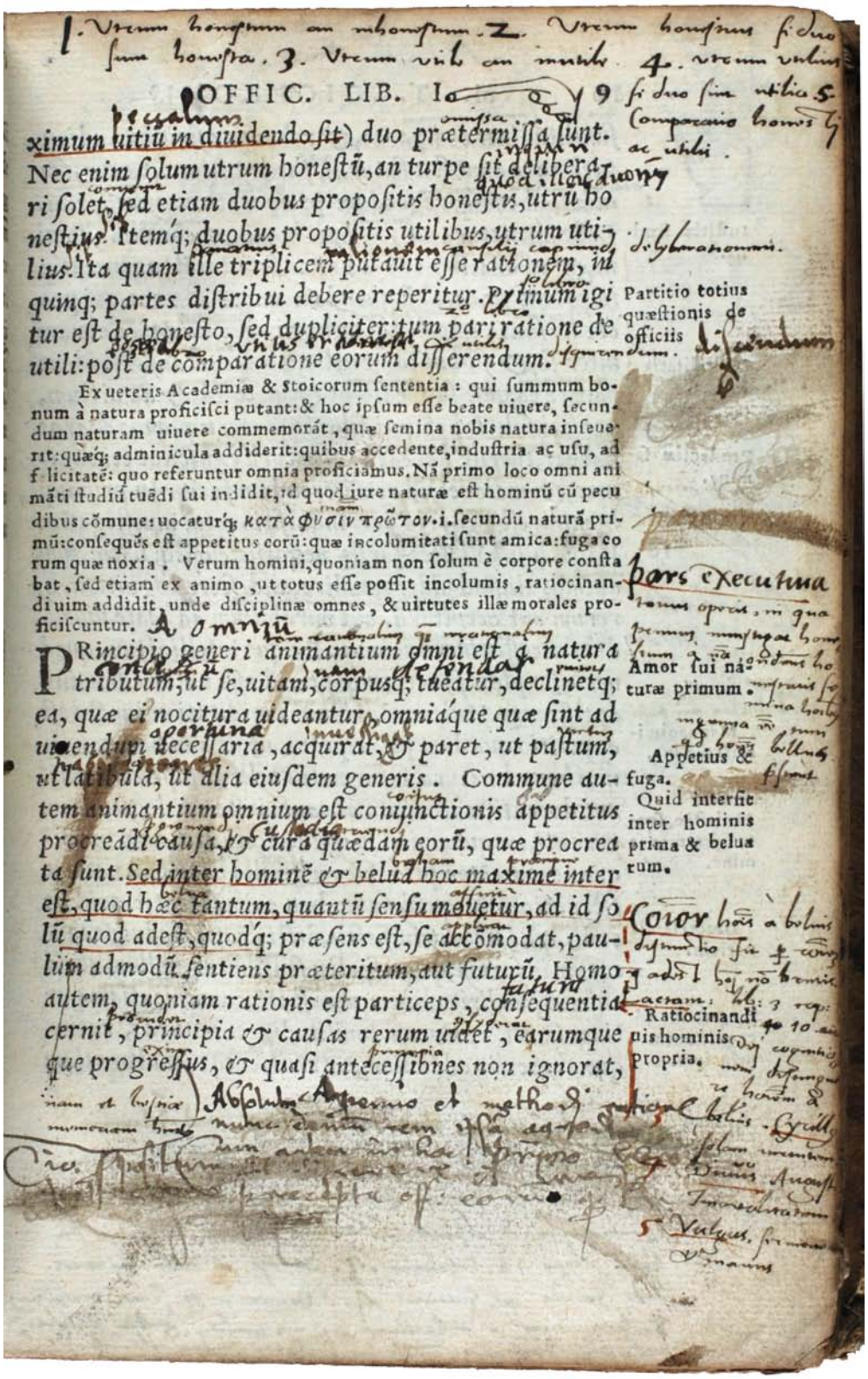
ximum uitium in diuidendo ſit) duo prætermiſſa ſunt. Nec enim ſolùm utrum honeſtum, an turpe ſit deliberari ſolet, ſed etiam duobus propoſitis honeſtis, utrum honeſtius. Item duobus propoſitis utilibus, utrum utilius. Ita, quam ille triplicem putauit eſſe rationem, in quinq; partes diſtribui debere reperitur. Primum igitur eſt de honeſto, ſed dupliciter: tum pari ratione de utili: poſt de comparatione eorum diſſerendum.

Comparatio nõ modò in omnes partes ſuæ ſorię, ſed etiam in plerasq; iudicialis incidit generis. Partitio totius quæſtionis de officijs.

Ex ueteris Academiæ, & Stoicorum ſententia, qui ſummum bonum à natura proficiſci putant, & hoc ipſum eſſe beatè uiuere, ſecundum naturam uiuere, cõmemorant, quæ ſemina nobis natura inſeuerit, quæq; adminicula addiderit, quibus accedente induſtria, ac uſu, ad felicitatem, quò referuntur omnia, proficiamus. Nam primo loco omni animanti ſtudium tuẽdi ſui indidit, id quod iure naturæ eſt hominum cum pecudibus cõmune, uocaturq; κατὰ φύσιν πρῶτον: id eſt, ſecundum naturam primum: cõſequens eſt appetitus eorum, quæ incolumitati ſunt amica, fuga eorum, quæ noxia. Verùm homini, quoniam non ſolùm é corpore cõſtabat, ſed etiam ex animo, ut totus eſſe poſsit incolumis, ratiocinandi uim addidit, unde diſciplinæ omnes, & uirtutes illæ mortales proficiſcuntur.

Principio generi animantium omni eſt à natura tributum, ut ſe, uitam, corpuſq; tueatur, declinetq; ea, quæ nocitura uideantur, omniaq;, quæcunq; ad uiuendũ ſint neceſſaria, acquirat, & paret: ut paſtum, ut latibula, ut alia eiuſdem generis. Commune autem animantium omnium eſt cõiunctionis appetitus procreandi cauſa, & cura quædã eorũ, quæ procreata ſunt. Sed inter hominem & belluam hoc maxime intereſt, quod hæc tantũ, quantũ ſenſu mouetur, ad id ſolùm, quod adeſt, quodq; præſens eſt, ſe accomodat, paulum admodum ſentiens præteritum, aut futurum: homo autẽ, quoniam rationis eſt particeps, cõſequentia cernit, principia, & cauſas rerum uidet, earumq; progreſſus, & quaſi anteceſsiones non ignorat,

Fig. 13. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Lyon, Sebastianus Gryphius, 1541, p. 9 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 1963)



OFFIC. LIB. I. 9

ximum uitiu in diuidendo sit) duo prætermissa sunt. Nec enim solum utrum honestũ, an turpe sit deliberari solet, sed etiam duobus propositis honestis, utrũ honestius. Itemq; duobus propositis utilibus, utrum utilius. Ita quam ille triplicem putauit esse rationem, in quinq; partes distribui debere reperitur. Primum igitur est de honesto, sed dupliciter: tum pari ratione de utili: post de comparatione eorum disserendum.

Ex ueteris Academiæ & Stoicorum sententia: qui summum bonum à natura proficisci putant: & hoc ipsum esse beate uiuere, secundum naturam uiuere commemorát, quæ semina nobis natura inseuerit: quæq; adminicula addiderit: quibus accedente, industria ac usu, ad felicitatẽ: quo referuntur omnia proficiamus. Nã primo loco omni animãti studiũ tuẽdi sui indidit, id quod iure naturæ est hominũ cũ pecudibus cõmune: uocaturq; κατὰ φύσιν πρῶτον. i. secundũ naturã primũ: consequẽs est appetitus corũ: quæ incolumitati sunt amica: fuga eorum quæ noxia. Verum homini, quoniam non solum è corpore constabat, sed etiam ex animo, ut totus esse possit incolumis, ratiocinandi uim addidit, unde disciplinæ omnes, & uirtutes illæ morales proficiscuntur.

PRincipio generi animantium omni est à natura tributum, ut se, uitam, corpusq; tueatur, declinetq; ea, quæ ei nocitura uideantur, omniáque quæ sint ad uiuendum necessaria, acquirat, & paret, ut pastum, ut latibula, ut alia eiusdem generis. Commune autem animantium omnium est coniunctionis appetitus procreãdi causa, & cura quædam eorũ, quæ procreata sunt. Sed inter hominẽ & belua hoc maximè interest, quod hæc tantum, quantũ sensu mouetur, ad id solũ quod adest, quodq; præsens est, se accommodat, paulùm admodũ sentiens præteritum, aut futurũ. Homo autem, quoniam rationis est particeps, consequentia cernit, principia & causas rerum uidet, earumque progressus, & quasi antecessiones non ignorat,

Partitio totius quæstionis de officiis.

Amor sui nãturæ primum.

Appetitus & fuga.

Quid interfit inter hominis prima & belua rum.

Ratiocinandi pis hominis propria.

Fig. 14. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Paris, Franciscus Gryphius, 1541, p. 9 (Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 1972)

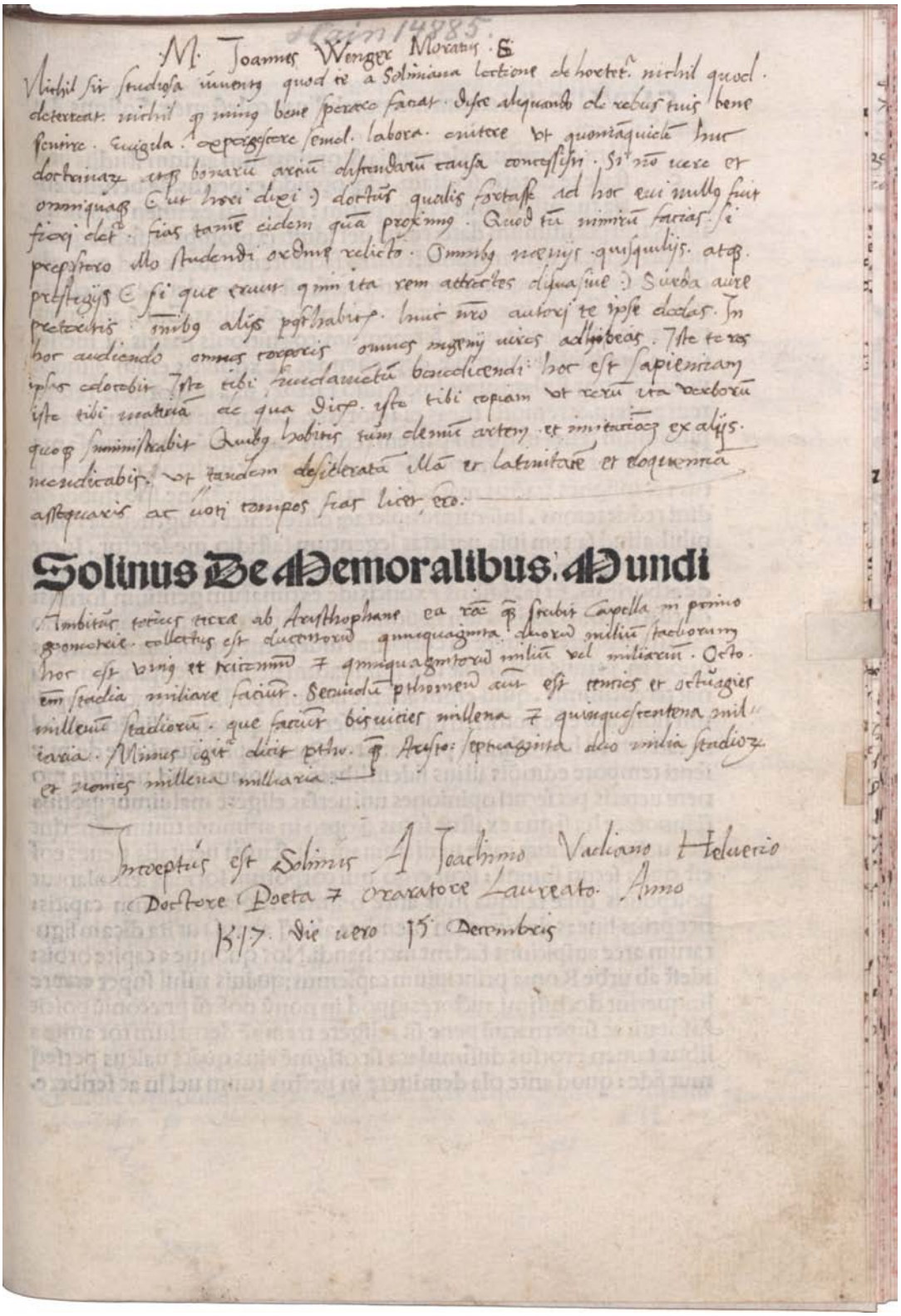

M. Joannes Wenger Moratus S.
Solinus De Memoralibus Mundi
Incoeptus est Solinus A Ioachimo Vadiano Helvecio
Doctore Poeta et Oratore Laureato Anno
1517 die vero 15 Decembris

Fig. 15. Gaius Julius Solinus, *De memoralibus* [i.e. *De memorabilibus mundi*], Venedig 1498 (Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern, call number: Ink.975.8.). The previous owner dated on the title page the beginning of Vadianus's lecture: "Incoeptus est Solinus A Ioachimo Vadiano Helvecio Doctore Poeta et Oratore Laureato Anno 1517 die vero 15 Decembris"

Oxus amnis:gens circa eum:terminus itineris Liberi patris & Herculis:& chamelon natura. Cap.lxii.
Seres & sericum. Cap.lxiii.
Gens attacorum: Cap.lxiiii.
India:in ea de ritu hominum & qualitate:de cæli clæmentia:de fluminibus:de leucocrota bestia:de serpentibus:dicis:de æle bestia: de manticora bestia: de bubus:de monocerote:de anguillis:de uermibus:de balena:de fusiter:de psitaco:de lucis:de fucis:de arundinibus:de arboribus: de piperis arbore: de hebeno: de calamo odorato: & de lapidibus preciosis. Cap.lxv.
Taprobone:in ea de qualitate hominum & moribus: de syderibus cæli eius:de navigationibus:de qualitate maris:de margaritis. Cap.lxvi.
Itinerarium indicum. Cap.lxvii.
Sinæ psicus & arabicus:azaniū mare:psis. Cap.lxviii.
Parthia. Cap.lxix.
Babylonia:recursus ad occanū atlanticū:i quo hespe/ridum insulæ:fortunatæ item insulæ. Cap.lxx.

C. Julius Solinus et Geographus et Historicus et Philosophus sine [illegible] et Agrippa episcopus T[illegible]

Legebat eundem poeta et orator Laureatus Medicinæq; doctor Joachimus Vadianus Helvetius Dr. S. Galle. Vienne Discipulis suis quem et 14 die Decembris incip[i]ebat anno incarnationis 1517

505

IVLII SOLINI DE SITV ORBIS TERRARVM ET MEMORABILIBVS QVAE MVNDI AMBITV CONTINENTVR LIBER.

PRAEFATIO. CA.I.

c Vm & aurium clæmentia & optimarum artium studiis præstare te cæteris sentia: idq; oppido expertus de beniuolétia tua nihil temer̄ percæperim: putaui examen opusculi huius tibi potissimū dare: cuius uel industria promptius suffragiū: uel benignitas ueniam sponderet facilliorem. Liber est ad compēdium præparatus: q̄umq; ratio passa est: ita moderate repressus: ut nec in eo prodiga sit copia: nec damnosa concinitas. Cui si animum propius intenderis: uelut fermentū cognitionis magis ei inesse: q̄ brateas eloquentiæ deprehendes. Exquisitus n. aliquot uoluminibus studuisse me cōpēdio fateor: ut & a notioribus referrem pedē: et remotis largius immorarer. Locos commemoratio plurimū tenet: in qua parte ferme declinatior est uniuersa materies: quorum commeminisse ita uisum est: ut inclytos terrarum situs et insignes tractus maris seruata orbis distinctione suo quoq; ordine redderemus. Inser uimus etiā pleraq; differenter congruentia: ut si nihil

A

Fig. 16. Gaius Julius Solinus, *Polyhistor sive de mirabilibus mundi* [i.e. *De memorabilibus mundi*], Bologna, Benedictus Hector Faellus, 1500, f. $[]_4$v/f. A_1r (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: 4.197$_2$). The previous owner dated on the title page the beginning of Vadianus's lecture: "Legebat eundem poeta et orator Laureatus medicineque doctor Joachimus Vadianus Helvetius Dr. S. Gallo. Vienne Discipulis suis quem et 14 die Decembris incip[i]ebat anno incarnationis 1517"

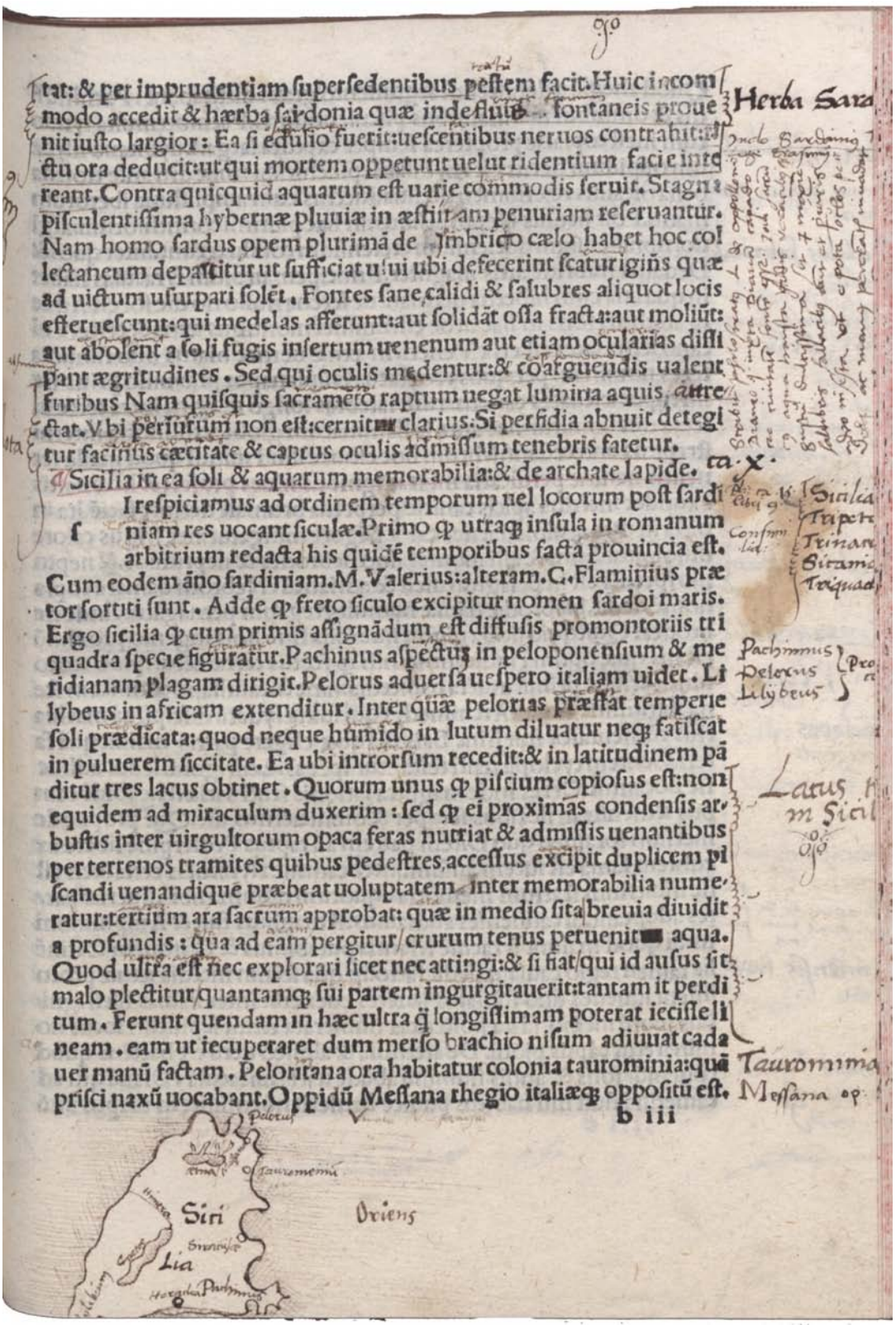


Fig. 17. Gaius Julius Solinus, *De memoralibus* [i.e. *De memorabilibus mundi*], Venice 1498, f. b_{iii}r (Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern, call number: Ink.975.8.)

habet. Hoc collectaneum departitur: ut sufficiat usui ubi defecerint scaturigines. Sane fontes calidi & salubres aliquot locis efferuescut: q medelas afferunt: aut solidat ossa fracta: aut abolet a solisugis isertum uenenu: aut etia oculatias dissipat ægritudines. Sed q oculis medentur: & coarguendis ualent furibus. Na quis quis sacrameto raptu negat: lumina aquis attrectat. Vbi piuriu non est: clarius cernit. Si perfidia abnuit: detegitur facinus cæcitate: & captus oculis admissum tenebris fatetur.

Sicilia: i ea memorabilia soli & aquaꝝ: & de achate lapide & insulis uulcaniis. CAP. xi.

Irespiciamus ad ordine tempoꝝ uel locoꝝ: post sardiniam res uocant siculæ. Primo q utraq; isula i Romana potestate redacta iisde teporibus puincia facta est: cu eode anno sardinia M. Valeriꝰ: altera. C. Flaminius ptor sortiti sint. Adde q freto siculo excipit sardi maris nome. Ergo sicilia: qd cu primis assignadum est: diffusis pminetibus triquetra specie figurat. Pachynnus aspectus in pelo ponesum & meridiana plaga dirigit. Pelorus aduersa uespo Italia uidet. Lilybæus i africa extenditur. Inter quæ pelorias pstat laudata soli teperameto egregio: q neq; humido i lutum madefaciat: neq; fatiscat i puluere siccitate. Ea ubi retrorsu recedit: & i latitudine pdit: tres lacus obtinet. Quoꝝ unus q pisciu est copiosus: no eqde ad miraculu duxerim; sed q ei pximans

Fig. 18. Gaius Julius Solinus, *Polyhistor sive de mirabilibus mundi* [i.e. *De memorabilibus mundi*], Bologna, Benedictus Hector Faellus, 1500, f. $C_{iii}v$ (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: 4.197$_2$)

much encouraged and practiced at the time.[83] Four other copies of the *Dodekachordon* reveal here and there the manuscript additions and corrections identical to those in the Paris copy. In three of them only a few corrections have been entered. At the start of each appears a declaration in Glareanus's hand, like the one in the Paris copy, which is meant to show that the entries in these copies, though not made by Glareanus himself, were to some extent authorized by him. All four copies were dedicated to members of Glareanus's circle. Evidently Glareanus had a considerable number of exemplars of the poorly printed edition of the *Dodekachordon*, and he corrected these against his master copy, or had students or assistants correct them, before he gave them away. The Solothurn cleric Johannes Aal received a copy in 1547,[84] as did Rudolph Götschi, also from Solothurn, in 1548.[85] Johann Rudolph Stör,[86] abbot of Murbach, and Bonaventura von Wellenburg, abbot of Rheinau,[87] both received further copies in 1549. The ones that Glareanus presented in 1547 and 1549 have only a few corrections and other marginalia. By contrast the copy that Glareanus gave to Rudolph Götschi in 1548 is annotated in much the same thorough manner as the one in Paris.

Glareanus: A Unique Case?

The discovery of the way in which Glareanus shared his books with his students raises a question: was he the only scholar of the period who opened his library to others and annotated his books with an eye to the needs of other readers? As yet, there is no definitive answer. But the evidence suggests that Glareanus was not the only one to adopt this practice, even if he did so more systematically than anyone else.

The Universitätsbibliothek Basel preserves a Latin and a German New Testament, both of which the printer Adam Petri gave to the Carthusians of Basel.[88] On almost every page of the Latin version[89] the librarian of the Charterhouse, Georg Carpentrarius, entered notes in the form of chapter titles, descriptions of subjects, references to parallel passages and interlinear glosses on individual words. All of these were designed to make the reading of the New Testament easier for the brothers (Fig. 19). He also had half-pages and whole sheets, filled with citations from the Church fathers bearing on individual biblical passages, inserted when the book was bound by the Carthusians. In the case of the German New Testament[90] he added translations of words used by Luther that were not employed in the German spoken and written in Basel, again to make reading easier. In both cases, as in that of Glareanus, the annotations were designed to enable other readers, rather than the owner, to gain access to the text.

In 2010 the Zürich church historian Alfred Schindler (1934–2012) bought at a Paris auction a distinctive copy of Erasmus' ten volume edition of Augustine's works, which was published by Froben in Basel in 1528 and 1529. He donated the edition, which was bound in Augsburg in the first half of the sixteenth century[91] and is in excellent condition, to the Zentralbibliothek Zürich, on the condition that it be digitized and made available to scholars around the world.[92] Scholars have been examining these volumes for some time, and have established that the manuscript annotations in them probably come from the circle of Martin Luther. They include selections, written in an unknown hand,[93] from the biblical commentaries of Luther, of Wenzeslaus Linck and of others who are not named. Augustine's

[83] Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Departement de la musique, Rés. F. 127, fly-leaf verso: "Anno a Iesu Christi natali MDXLVIII Glareanus iam LX annos natus hunc codicem, librarii culpa depravatum, propria emendavit manu quantum necessum visum fuit. Reliquos errores in genere dumtaxat lectori indicasse satis erit, utpote qui a mediocris ingenii homine facile corrigi possunt." By "hunc codicem … propria emendavit manu" Glareanus may have referred to a copy that he had corrected with his own hand, so that it could then be copied again for this volume and for others. On errata lists and their uses see Ann Blair, "Errata lists and the reader as corrector," in: *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, in association with The Center for the Book, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., 2007), pp. 21–41.

[84] Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar 243.

[85] Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar I 243 bis.

[86] Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, call number: Rar I 243 ter.

[87] Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: Rb 41 b.

[88] Hieronymus (footnote 82), vol. 1, pp. 277–282.

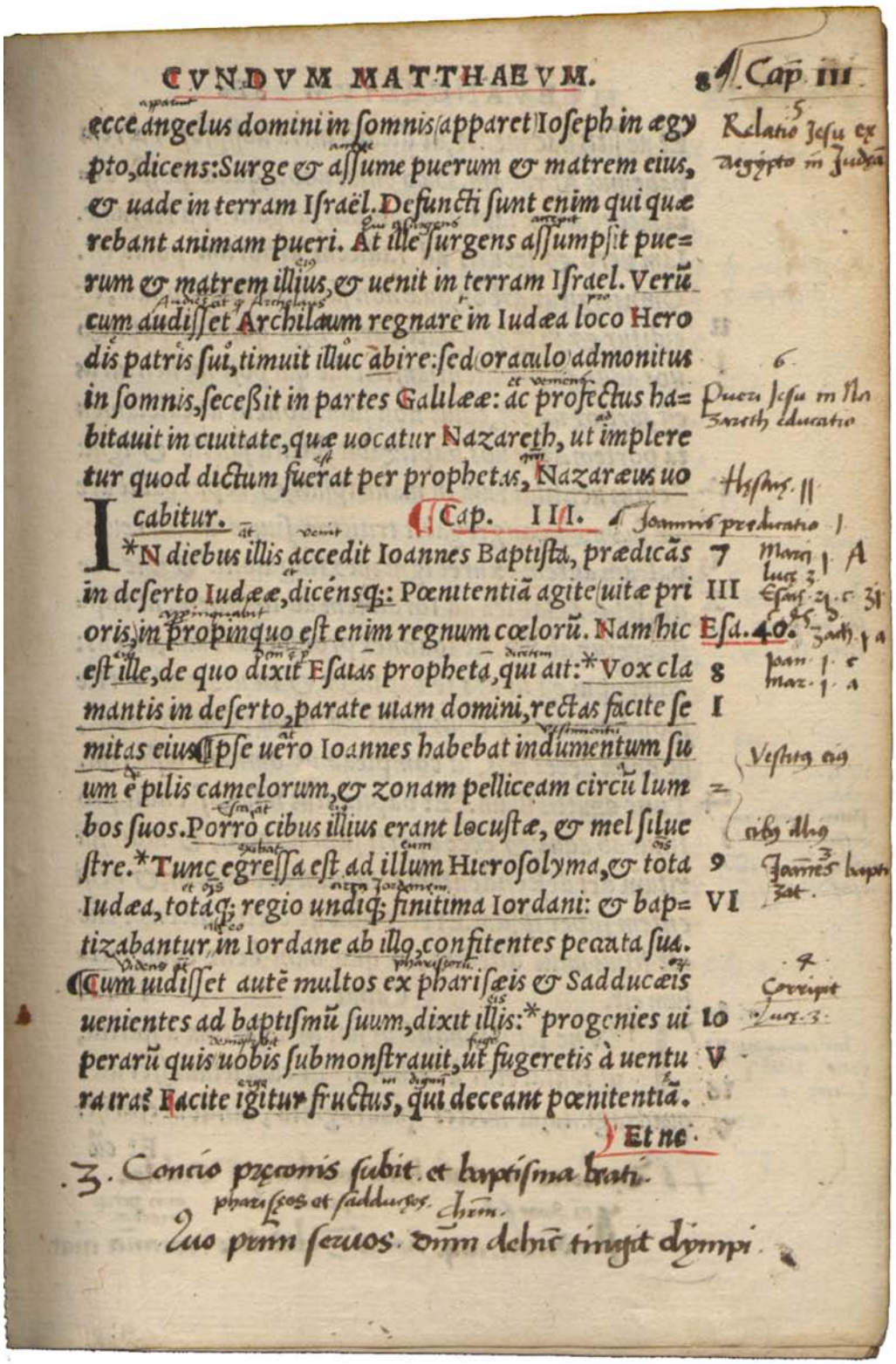
[89] NT (lat.), Basel, Adam Petri, 1522. UB Basel, call number: F G IX^2 86a.

[90] NT (dt.), Basel, Adam Petri, 1522. UB Basel, call number: Ki. Ar. J I 7.

[91] Peter Way, "A "Lutheran" Copy of Erasmus' Edition of St. Augustine," *Lutheran Quarterly* 14 (2000), p. 375.

[92] Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: AW 57: 1–10. This copy is available in digital form through the site www.e-rara.ch.

[93] The man who wrote these notes was probably an older theologian, possibly an Augustinian canon, who had had a traditional training in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He must have had access to a major library. Cf. Way (footnote 91), p. 380 and 384.



CVNDVM MATTHAEVM. 8 Cap III

ecce angelus domini in somnis apparet Ioseph in ægy
pto, dicens: Surge & assume puerum & matrem eius,
& uade in terram Israël. Defuncti sunt enim qui quæ
rebant animam pueri. At ille surgens assumpsit pue=
rum & matrem illius, & uenit in terram Israel. Verũ
cum audisset Archilaum regnare in Iudæa loco Hero
dis patris sui, timuit illuc abire: sed oraculo admonitus
in somnis, seceßit in partes Galilææ: ac profectus ha=
bitauit in ciuitate, quæ uocatur Nazareth, ut imple
tur quod dictum fuerat per prophetas, Nazaræus uo
cabitur.

Relatio Jesu ex Aegypto in Judæa

Puer. Jesu in Na Zareth educatio

Hystoria II

Cap. III. Joannis predicatio I

*N diebus illis accedit Ioannes Baptista, prædicãs 7 Matth 3 Marc 1 Luc 3 A
in deserto Iudææ, dicénsq;: Pœnitentiã agite: uitæ pri III Esaiæ 35 c
oris, in propinquo est enim regnum cœlorũ. Nam hic Esa. 40. Zach 14 a
est ille, de quo dixit Esaias propheta, qui ait: *Vox cla 8 Joan 1 c Marc 1 a
mantis in deserto, parate uiam domini, rectas facite se I
mitas eius. Ipse uero Ioannes habebat indumentum su
um e pilis camelorum, & zonam pelliceam circũ lum
bos suos. Porro cibus illius erant locustæ, & mel silue
stre. *Tunc egressa est ad illum Hieroßolyma, & tota 9 Matth 3 Marc 1 Luc 3
Iudæa, totaq; regio undiq; finitima Iordani: & bap= VI
tizabantur in Iordane ab illo, confitentes peccata sua.
Cum uidisset autẽ multos ex phariſæis & Sadducæis 4 Matth 3 Corrupt Luc 3
uenientes ad baptismũ suum, dixit illis: *progenies ui 10
perarũ quis uobis submonstrauit, ut fugeretis à uentu V
ra tra? Facite igitur fructus, qui deceant pœnitentiã.

Et ne

Vestitus Joannis

cibus Joannis

Concio precursoris subit et baptisma trahit.

pharisæos et sadducæos. Chrm.

Quo pœna seruos. Dum delnt timent dyspi.

Fig. 19. New Testament (latin), Basel, Adam Petri, 1522, p. 8 (UB Basel, call number: F G IX² 86a). Notes by the librarian Georg Carpentarius, designed to make reading of the Bible easier: chapter titles and subject headings, parallel passages, interlinear definitions and synonyms

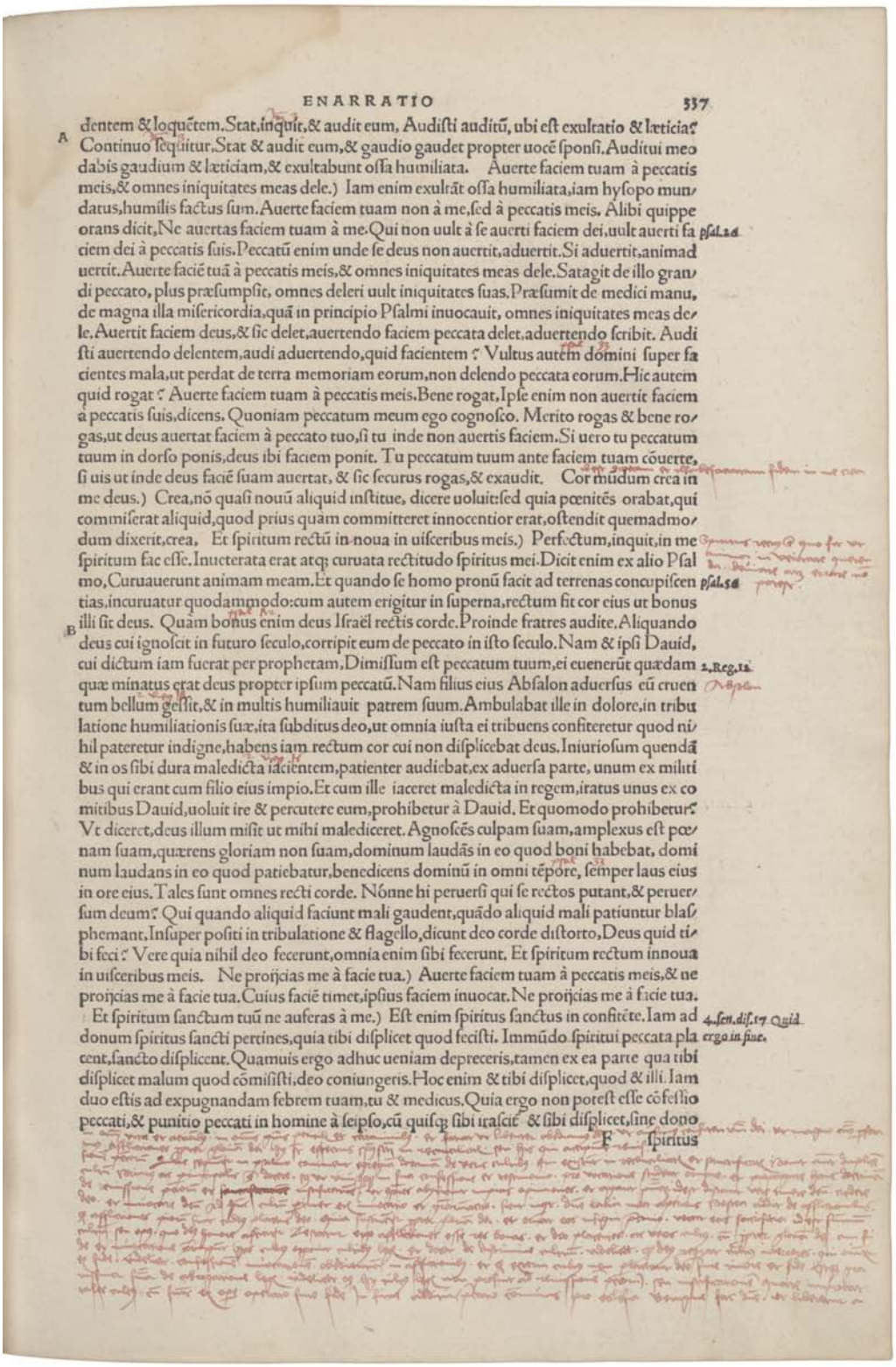
commentary on the Psalms in volume eight is particularly heavily annotated (Fig. 20). At this point, some 20 per cent of the notes have been studied, with the following results: "The annotator corrects Augustine's and Erasmus' texts, identifies biblical and classical sources, discusses obscure Latin words, refers to events past and present, and gives biographical information concerning contemporary and historical personalities. He focuses on elements of Augustine's writings which support the new evangelical theology, underlining relevant sections and writing short comments into the margins. The painstaking corrections of Augustine's text have the appearance of being the work of someone who has served on the staff of a humanist publisher. The annotator uses many of the same signs used by Beatus Rhenanus for Froben's editions of the church fathers. At first glance it seems that the corrections and identifications could have been done, in part, for a humanist printer who planned to publish a corrected edition of Augustine's works, along with the biblical comments of Luther and Linck."[94] But this suggestion is to be rejected. The notes are composed in both German and Latin, and can hardly represent the preparation for a new edition. Sometimes a single note changes in mid-stream from one language to the other.

It is also implausible that the man who entered these notes, carrying out an immense job in a remarkable detailed and precise way, did so for his own use. As Peter Way has written: "I find it hard to believe, however, that the manuscript copies of Luther's and Linck's commentaries together with the extensive verifications of biblical citations (several thousand!), the corrections (again several thousand), and the numerous critical notes were written out only for the annotator himself."[95] These notes can, however, be explained when set in the new context established by Glareanus's books. It seems likely that these volumes were housed in the library of a professor or an institution, a facility which was frequented by students and other readers—readers for whom these commentaries, parallel passages and corrections would have offered valuable help, and who may well have made their own notes and excerpts from them.

The Zürich naturalist and professor Konrad Gessner seems to have intended the marginal notes that he entered in his books for other readers as well as for his own use. For example, in his copy of his own *Icones avium*[96] he remarked twice that corrections and additions for this work appeared at the end of the *Icones quadrupedum*. As the author, he must have known this, but another reader might have found the note helpful. Not dissimilar is his note on the rather good illustration of a sea urchin in *Icones animalium aquatilium*. Here he remarked that he had made the drawing himself: "Pinxi" (Fig. 21).[97] Here too, the information seems intended for someone other than the author, examining the woodcut. Again, it seems unlikely that Gessner entered the marginal note on the "whale of Bellonius" in his chapter on whales for himself. Here he noted, more plausibly for a reader than for himself, that the animal could be found at the end of the book: "Orca Bellonii 'ein Ohrschweyn'. Vide in fine huius libri …"[98]

Many scholars of the early modern period regularly allowed their colleagues to use their books. This is clear not only from their letters, but also from Gessner's working copy of his *Bibliotheca universalis* (Zürich 1545). Here he recorded in manuscript notes the books that belonged to many of his colleagues.[99] Gessner entered more than one hundred references to institutional and private libraries (Fig. 22). These include the collections of Theodor Bibliander, Heinrich Bullinger, Johannes Fries, Christoph Froschauer the elder, Christoph Klauser, Konrad Pellikan, Aegidius Tschudi und Otto Werdmüller. Occasionally Zürich scholars received books as gifts, dedicated in writing to them and to their friends ("et

[94] Way (footnote 91), p. 379.
[95] Way (footnote 91), p. 384.
[96] Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: NNN 44_2.
[97] Konrad Gessner, *Nomenclator aquatilium animantium. Icones animalium aquatilium …* (Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1560), p. 257 (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: NNN 44_3).
[98] Ibid., p. 163.
[99] The book belongs to the holdings of the Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: Dr M 3. See Urs B. Leu, "Marginalien Konrad Gessners als historische Quellen," *Gesnerus* 50 (1993), pp. 27–47.

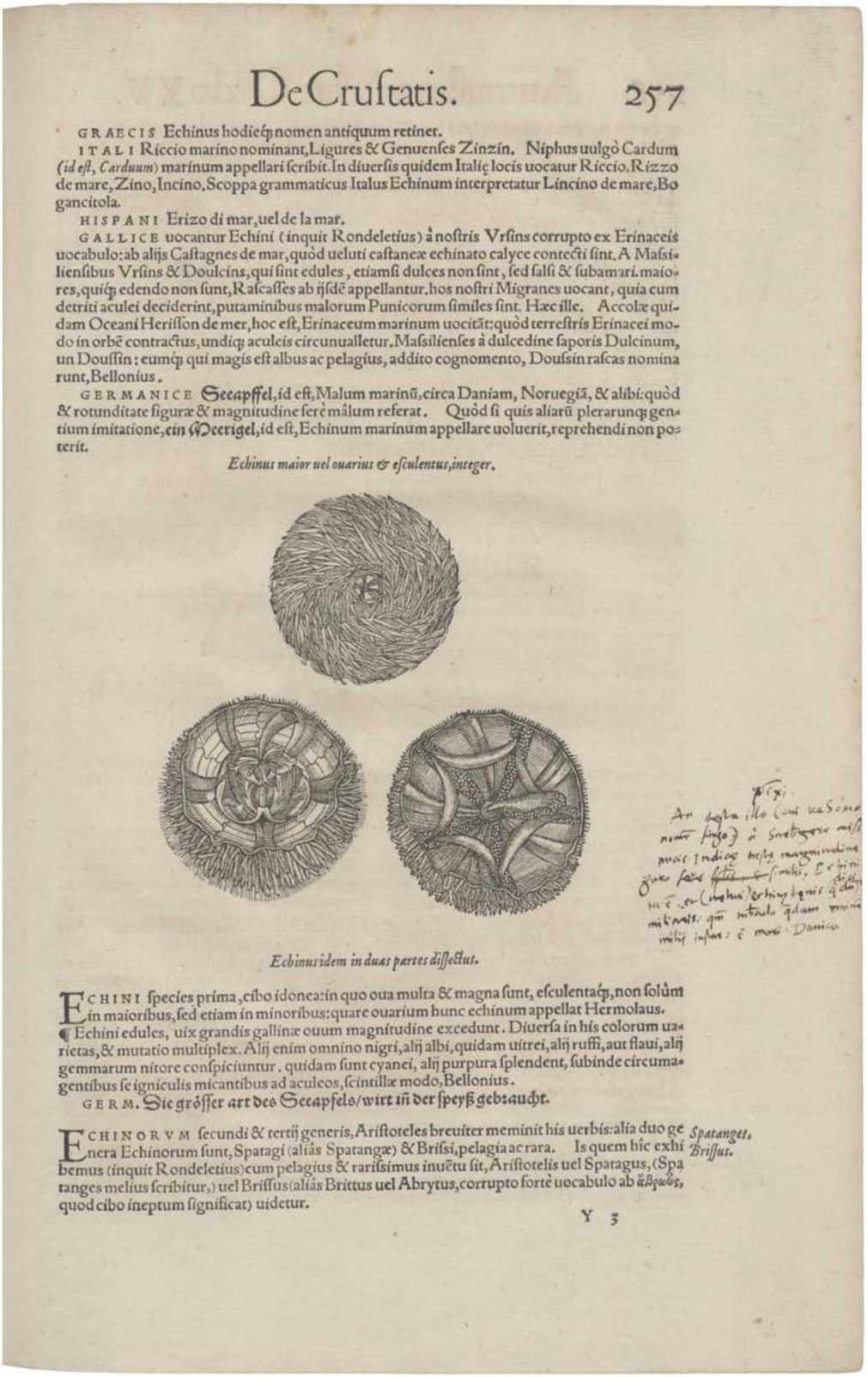


ENARRATIO 337

dentem & loquẽtem. Stat, inquit, & audit eum. Audisti auditũ, ubi est exultatio & lætitia? A
Continuo sequitur, Stat & audit eum, & gaudio gaudet propter uocẽ sponsi. Auditui meo
dabis gaudium & lætitiam, & exultabunt ossa humiliata. Auerte faciem tuam à peccatis
meis, & omnes iniquitates meas dele.) Iam enim exultãt ossa humiliata, iam hysopo mun-
datus, humilis factus sum. Auerte faciem tuam non à me, sed à peccatis meis. Alibi quippe
orans dicit, Ne auertas faciem tuam à me. Qui non uult à se auerti faciem dei, uult auerti fa psal.26
ciem dei à peccatis suis. Peccatũ enim unde se deus non auertit, aduertit. Si aduertit, animad
uertit. Auerte faciẽ tuã à peccatis meis, & omnes iniquitates meas dele. Satagit de illo gran-
di peccato, plus præsumpsit, omnes deleri uult iniquitates suas. Præsumit de medici manu,
de magna illa misericordia, quã in principio Psalmi inuocauit, omnes iniquitates meas de-
le. Auertit faciem deus, & sic delet, auertendo faciem peccata delet, aduertendo scribit. Audi
sti auertendo delentem, audi aduertendo, quid facientem? Vultus autẽm domini super fa
cientes mala, ut perdat de terra memoriam eorum, non delendo peccata eorum. Hic autem
quid rogat? Auerte faciem tuam à peccatis meis. Bene rogat. Ipse enim non auertit faciem
à peccatis suis, dicens. Quoniam peccatum meum ego cognosco. Merito rogas & bene ro-
gas, ut deus auertat faciem à peccato tuo, si tu inde non auertis faciem. Si uero tu peccatum
tuum in dorso ponis, deus ibi faciem ponit. Tu peccatum tuum ante faciem tuam cõuerte,
si uis ut inde deus faciẽ suam auertat, & sic securus rogas, & exaudit. Cor mũdum crea in
me deus.) Crea, nõ quasi nouũ aliquid institue, dicere uoluit: sed quia pœnitẽs orabat, qui
commiserat aliquid, quod prius quam committeret innocentior erat, ostendit quemadmo-
dum dixerit, crea. Et spiritum rectũ in-noua in uisceribus meis.) Perfectum, inquit, in me
spiritum fac esse. Inuecterata erat atq; curuata rectitudo spiritus mei. Dicit enim ex alio Psal
mo, Curuauerunt animam meam. Et quando se homo pronũ facit ad terrenas concupiscen psal.56
tias, incuruatur quodammodo: cum autem erigitur in superna, rectum fit cor eius ut bonus
illi sit deus. Quam bonus enim deus Israël rectis corde. Proinde fratres audite. Aliquando B
deus cui ignoscit in futuro seculo, corripit eum de peccato in isto seculo. Nam & ipsi Dauid,
cui dictum iam fuerat per prophetam, Dimissum est peccatum tuum, ei euenerũt quædam 2.Reg.12
quæ minatus erat deus propter ipsum peccatũ. Nam filius eius Absalon aduersus eũ cruen
tum bellum gessit, & in multis humiliauit patrem suum. Ambulabat ille in dolore, in tribu
latione humiliationis suæ, ita subditus deo, ut omnia iusta ei tribuens confiteretur quod ni-
hil pateretur indigne, habens iam rectum cor cui non displicebat deus. Iniuriosum quendã
& in os sibi dura maledicta iacientem, patienter audiebat, ex aduersa parte, unum ex militi
bus qui erant cum filio eius impio. Et cum ille iaceret maledicta in regem, iratus unus ex co
mitibus Dauid, uoluit ire & percutere eum, prohibetur à Dauid. Et quomodo prohibetur?
Vt diceret, deus illum misit ut mihi malediceret. Agnoscẽs culpam suam, amplexus est pœ-
nam suam, quærens gloriam non suam, dominum laudãs in eo quod boni habebat, domi
num laudans in eo quod patiebatur, benedicens dominũ in omni tẽpore, semper laus eius
in ore eius. Tales sunt omnes recti corde. Nónne hi peruersi qui se rectos putant, & peruer-
sum deum? Qui quando aliquid faciunt mali gaudent, quãdo aliquid mali patiuntur blas-
phemant. Insuper positi in tribulatione & flagello, dicunt deo corde distorto, Deus quid ti-
bi feci? Vere quia nihil deo fecerunt, omnia enim sibi fecerunt. Et spiritum rectum innoua
in uisceribus meis. Ne proijcias me à facie tua.) Auerte faciem tuam à peccatis meis, & ne
proijcias me à facie tua. Cuius faciẽ timet, ipsius faciem inuocat. Ne proijcias me à facie tua.
Et spiritum sanctum tuũ ne auferas à me.) Est enim spiritus sanctus in confitẽte. Iam ad 4.sen.dist.17 Quid
donum spiritus sancti pertines, quia tibi displicet quod fecisti. Immũdo spiritui peccata pla ergo in fine.
cent, sancto displicent. Quamuis ergo adhuc ueniam depreceris, tamen ex ea parte qua tibi
displicet malum quod cõmisisti, deo coniungeris. Hoc enim & tibi displicet, quod & illi. Iam
duo estis ad expugnandam febrem tuam, tu & medicus. Quia ergo non potest esse cõfessio
peccati, & punitio peccati in homine à seipso, cũ quisq; sibi irascit & sibi displicet, sine dono

F Spiritus

Fig. 20. Augustinus, *Opera*, Basel, Officina Frobeniana, 1528, p. 337 (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: AW 57: 8). Commentary on Ps. 50 with biblical parallels, Latin marginal glosses on the right and a long German commentary on the text on the foot of the page



De Cruſtatis. 257

GRAECIS Echínus hodieq; nomen antíquum retinet.

ITALI Ríccio maríno nominant, Ligures & Genuenſes Zínzín. Níphus uulgò Cardum (*id eſt, Carduum*) marínum appellari ſcríbit. In díuerſis quídem Italiæ locís uocatur Ríccio, Rízzo de mare, Zino, Incíno, Scoppa grammaticus Italus Echínum ínterpretatur Líncino de mare, Bogancítola.

HISPANI Erízo di mar, uel de la mar.

GALLICE uocantur Echíni (ínquit Rondeletíus) à noſtrís Vrſíns corrupto ex Erínaceís uocábulo: ab alíjs Caſtagnes de mar, quòd ueluti caſtaneæ echínato calyce contecti ſint. A Maſſilienſíbus Vrſíns & Doulcíns, quí ſint edules, etiamſi dulces non ſint, ſed ſalſi & ſubamari. maíores, quiq; edendo non ſunt, Raſcaſſes ab íjſdē appellantur. hos noſtri Mígranes uocant, quía cum detríti aculei decíderint, putamínibus malorum Punícorum ſímiles ſint. Hæc ille. Accolæ quídam Oceaní Heríſſon de mer, hoc eſt, Erínaceum marínum uocitãt: quòd terreſtrís Erínaceí modo ín orbē contractus, undiq; aculeís circunualletur. Maſſilienſes à dulcedíne ſaporís Dulcínum, un Douſſín: eumq; qui magís eſt albus ac pelagíus, addíto cognomento, Douſsín raſcas nomínarunt, Bellonius.

GERMANICE Seeapffel, íd eſt, Malum marinũ, círca Daníam, Noruegiã, & alíbí: quòd & rotunditate figuræ & magnitudíne ſerè mãlum referat. Quòd ſi quis aliarũ plerarunq; gentium ímitatione, ein Meerigel, id eſt, Echínum marínum appellare uoluerit, reprehendí non poterit.

Echinus maior uel ouarius & eſculentus, integer.

Echinus idem in duas partes diſſectus.

ECHINI ſpecies príma, cíbo idonea: ín quo oua multa & magna ſunt, eſculentaq;, non ſolùm in maioríbus, ſed etíam ín minoríbus: quare ouarium hunc echínum appellat Hermolaus.

¶ Echíni edules, uíx grandís gallínæ ouum magnitudíne excedunt. Díuerſa ín hís colorum uarietas, & mutatio multíplex. Alíj enim omníno nígri, alíj albí, quídam uítrei, alíj ruſſi, aut flaui, alíj gemmarum nítore conſpícíuntur. quídam ſunt cyanei, alíj purpura ſplendent, ſubínde circumagentíbus ſe ígniculís micantíbus ad aculeos, ſcíntillæ modo, Bellonius.

GERM. Die gröſſer art des Seeapfels/wirt iñ der ſpeyß gebraucht.

ECHINORVM ſecundi & tertíj generis, Ariſtoteles breuíter memínit hís uerbís: alía duo genera Echínorum ſunt, Spatagi (alíàs Spatangæ) & Briſsi, pelagía ac rara. Is quem híc exhíbemus (ínquit Rondeletíus) cum pelagíus & rariſsímus ínuẽtu ſit, Ariſtotelís uel Spatagus, (Spatanges melíus ſcríbitur,) uel Briſſus (alíàs Brittus uel Abrytus, corrupto fortè uocábulo ab ἄβρωτος, quod cíbo ineptum ſignificat) uídetur. *Spatanget, Briſſus.*

Y 3

Fig. 21. Konrad Gessner, *Nomenclator aquatilium animantium. Icones animalium aquatilium* … Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1560, p. 257 (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: NNN 44₃). Three images of a sea urchin with Gessner's note: "Pinxi" ("I drew this")

amicorum"). Others noted on the title pages of their books that they were meant for the use of others.[100]

In January 2013 the Zentralbibliothek Zürich obtained a heavily annotated copy of the elder Pliny's *Historiarum naturae libri XXXVII* (Paris 1532). The first 200 pages are thick with manuscript notes entered in red and brown ink by the French physician Albert Lefèbvre (Fig. 23). One of the "docteurs régents" at the Paris medical faculty, he also served as "lector pharmacopeorum" from 1566 onwards.[101] In 1570 he was deprived of his position because of his Protestantism, but in the next year he was rehired.[102] What he entered in the margins of his Pliny were a vast number of text-critical observations, based on intensive study of manuscripts of Pliny that he had seen in Paris or elsewhere. The humanist bibliophiles of this period, who willingly shared their valuable manuscripts with colleagues, included the Paris Jurist Claude Dupuy (1545–1594), Guillaume Pellissier (ca. 1490–1568), Bishop of Maguelonne, and Aymar Ranconnet (died 1559), second President of the Parlement of Paris. Lefèbvre also added substantive comments drawn from Aristotle, Plutarch, Seneca, Strabo, Suetonius and others, which may have derived from his lectures. Most of his comments are preceded by a special sign, which has not yet been explained.

The library of Beatus Rheanus in Sélestat [Schlettstadt] yields a similar picture. He too annotated his books according to a special personal system, using special signs that he had devised (Fig. 24). Léa Ackerman has rightly asked if Rhenanus too intended his books to be used by other readers: "Dans la mesure où l'on sait que Rhenanus appartenait à un cercle intellectuel assez large et dynamique, on peut émettre l'hypothèse que certains de ses ouvrages ont pu voyager en son sein—ce dont témoignent les anathèmes et mises en garde dans nombreux de ses livres. Si cela a été le cas, on peut se demander dans quelle mesure Rhenanus envisageait ses repères de lecture comme une aide à la lecture pour ses confrères et si, parmi les annotations marginales qui ne sont pas de sa main, ne figurent pas quelques remarques ou signes qui sont du fait de ces derniers."[103]

It is not yet possible to give our question about Glareanus a definitive answer. But it seems probable that he systematically annotated his books to make them more useful and accessible to his students, and that he believed that giving them access to his manuscript marginalia, as well as his public and private lectures, was an integral part of the instruction he offered. If so, he may have embodied the humanist ideal of book collecting more fully than any of his contemporaries.[104] We hope that this volume will stimulate others to pursue these questions farther.

The Practice of Chronology: Glareanus, Hummelberg and Others

In the 1530s, Eusebius, as modified by Jerome, still provided the central model for what a universal chronology should be and do, and chronologers of very different kinds found that they could adapt the Eusebian format to new ends. The Dominican Giovanni Maria Tolosani, a member of the Florentine friary of San Marco, enriched the Eusebian historical table with information drawn from the ecclesiastical calendar in his *Opusculum de emendationibus temporum*.[105] He noted the position of each year in

[100] See for example: Urs B. Leu et al., *Conrad Gessner's Private Library*, History of Science and Medicine Library 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 157 and 217 f. Here the Swiss continued a practice well known in fifteenth century Florence, where Niccolò Niccoli freely lent out the manuscripts from his extraordinary collection, later the nucleus of the library of San Marco, and Angelo Poliziano noted that his books also belonged to his friends ("et amicorum"). See Berthold L. Ullman and Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the library of San Marco* (Padova: Antenore, 1972); Alessandro Perosa (ed.), *Mostra del Poliziano nella Biblioteca medicea laurenziana; manoscritti, libri rari, autografi e documenti. Firenze, 23 settembre–30 novembre 1954. Catalogo* (Florence: Sansoni, 1955); and Paolo Viti (ed.) *Pico, Poliziano e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento: Biblioteca medicea laurenziana, 4 novembre–31 dicembre 1994. Catalogo* (Florence: Olschki, 1994).

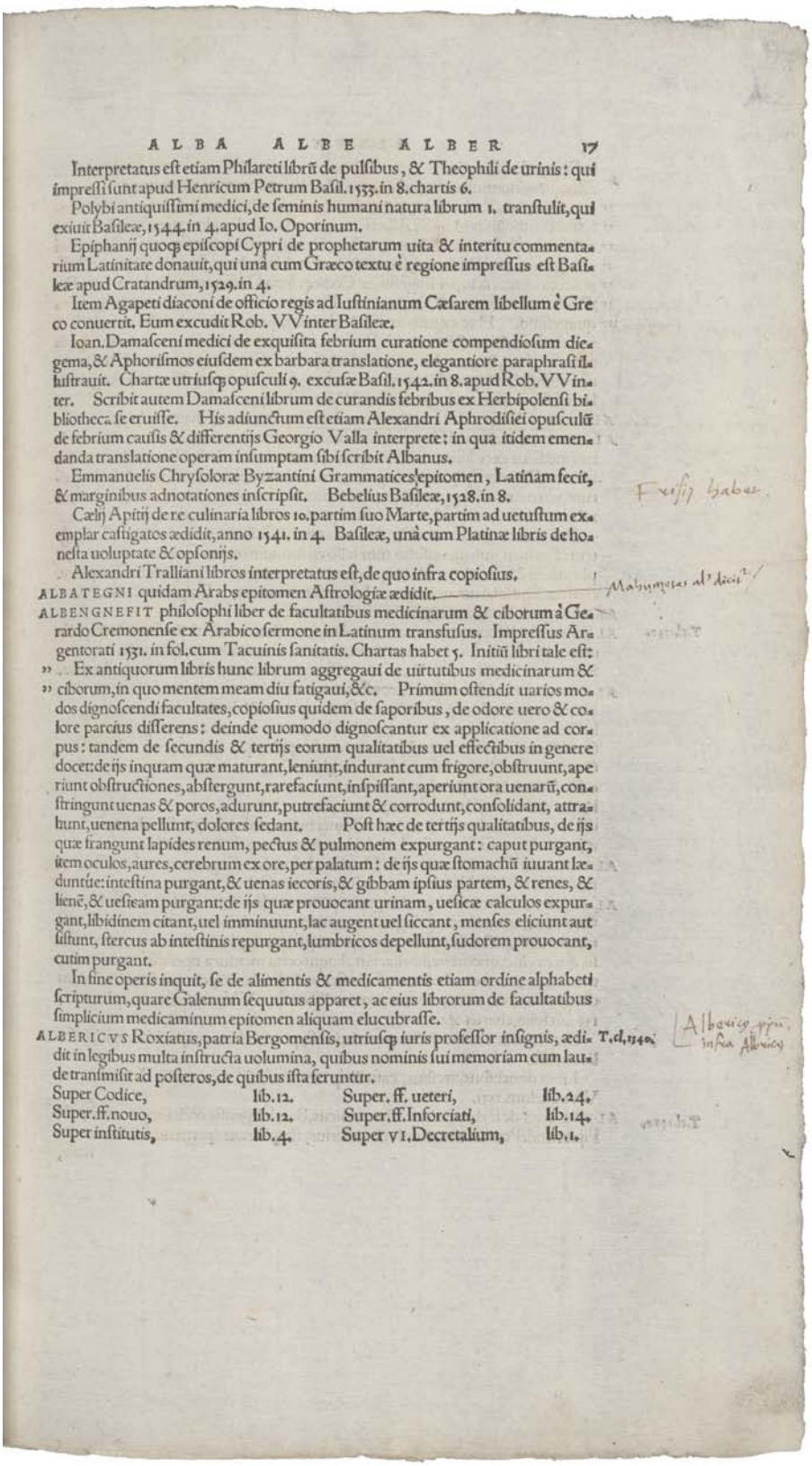
[101] Didier Kahn, *Alchimie et Paracelsisme en France à la fin de la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 2007), p. 172.

[102] Jacqueline Vons, *Le médecin, les institutions, le roi. Médecine et politique aux XVIe–XVIIe siècles*, (Paris 2012), p. 13 (http://cour-de-france.fr/article2351.html).

[103] Léa Ackermann, "La lecture humaniste: Approche des usages de la lecture humaniste au travers des repères de lectures portés par Beatus Rhenanus dans quelques ouvrages de sa bibliothèque," *Annuaire des amis de la Bibliothèque humaniste de Séléstat* 59 (2009), p. 49.

[104] Vgl. G.D. Hobson, "Et Amicorum", *The Library*, fifth series, 4 (1949), pp. 87–99.

[105] Giovanni Maria Tolosani, *Opusculum de emendationibus temporum* (Venice: Giunti, 1537). On Tolosani see Demetrio Marzi, *La questione della riforma del calendario nel quinto concilio lateranense (1512–1517)* (Florence: Tip. G. Carnesecchi e figli, 1896); Edward Rosen, "Was Copernicus' Revolutions Approved by the Pope?", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36, 3 (1975), pp. 531–542; Eugenio Garin, *Rinascite e rivoluzioni: movimenti culturali dal XIV al XVIII secolo* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1975).



ALBA ALBE ALBER 17

Interpretatus est etiam Philareti librũ de pulsibus, & Theophili de urinis: qui impressi sunt apud Henricum Petrum Basil. 1533. in 8. chartis 6.

Polybi antiquissimi medici, de seminis humani natura librum 1. transtulit, qui exiuit Basileæ, 1544. in 4. apud Io. Oporinum.

Epiphanij quoq; episcopi Cypri de prophetarum uita & interitu commentarium Latinitate donauit, qui una cum Græco textu è regione impressus est Basileæ apud Cratandrum, 1529. in 4.

Item Agapeti diaconi de officio regis ad Iustinianum Cæsarem libellum è Greco conuertit. Eum excudit Rob. VVinter Basileæ.

Ioan. Damasceni medici de exquisita febrium curatione compendiosum diægema, & Aphorismos eiusdem ex barbara translatione, elegantiore paraphrasi illustrauit. Chartæ utriusq; opusculi 9. excusæ Basil. 1542. in 8. apud Rob. VVinter. Scribit autem Damasceni librum de curandis febribus ex Herbipolensi bibliotheca se eruisse. His adiunctum est etiam Alexandri Aphrodisiei opusculũ de febrium causis & differentijs Georgio Valla interprete: in qua itidem emendanda translatione operam insumptam sibi scribit Albanus.

Emmanuelis Chrysoloræ Byzantini Grammatices epitomen, Latinam fecit, & marginibus adnotationes inscripsit. Bebelius Basileæ, 1528. in 8.

Cælij Apitij de re culinaria libros 10. partim suo Marte, partim ad uetustum exemplar castigatos ædidit, anno 1541. in 4. Basileæ, unà cum Platinæ libris de honesta uoluptate & opsonijs.

Alexandri Tralliani libros interpretatus est, de quo infra copiosius.

ALBATEGNI quidam Arabs epitomen Astrologiæ ædidit.

ALBENGNEFIT philosophi liber de facultatibus medicinarum & ciborum à Gerardo Cremonense ex Arabico sermone in Latinum transfusus. Impressus Argentorati 1531. in fol. cum Tacuinis sanitatis. Chartas habet 5. Initiũ libri tale est:

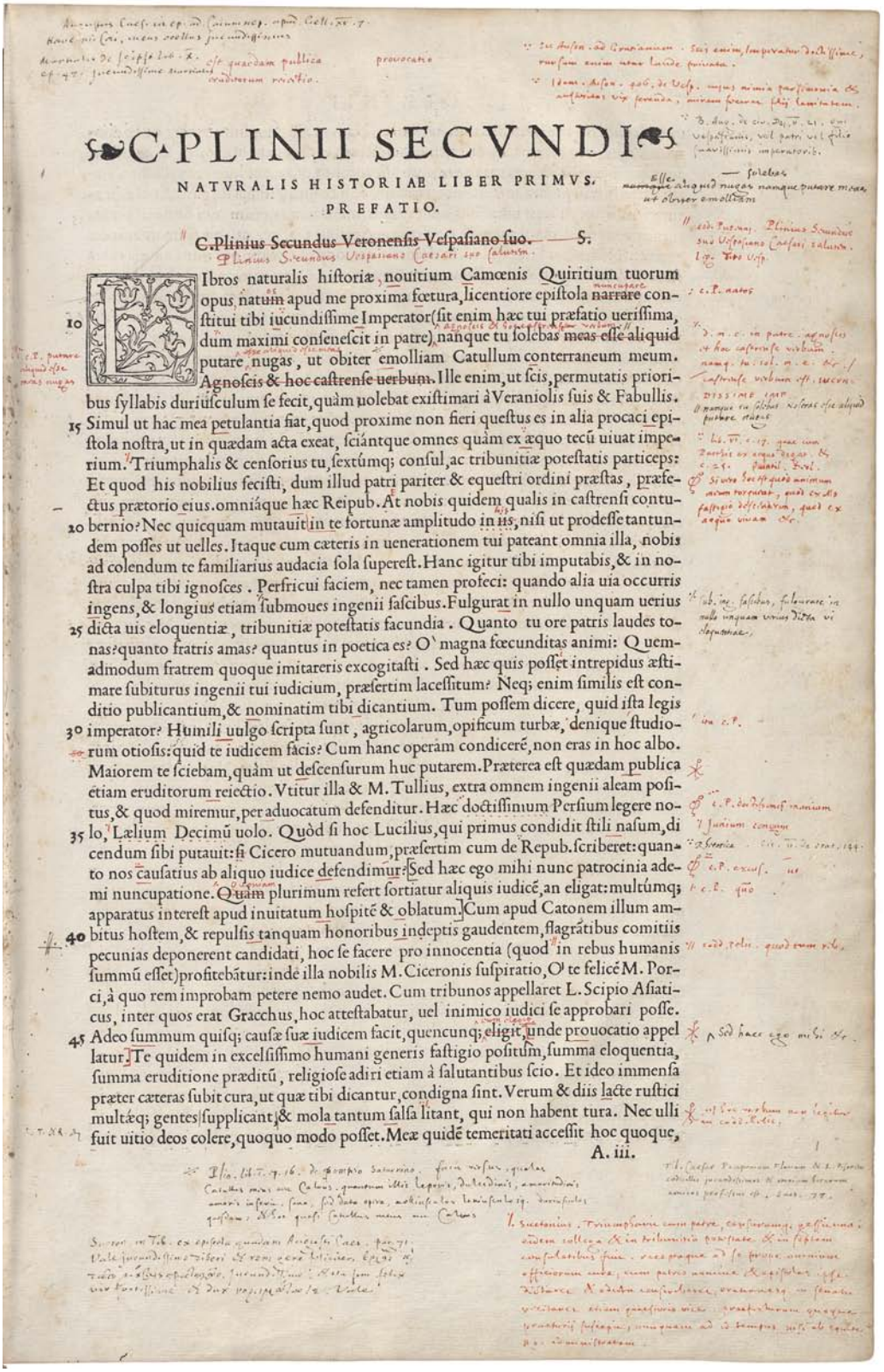
» Ex antiquorum libris hunc librum aggregaui de uirtutibus medicinarum &
» ciborum, in quo mentem meam diu fatigaui, &c. Primum ostendit uarios modos dignoscendi facultates, copiosius quidem de saporibus, de odore uero & colore parcius differens: deinde quomodo dignoscantur ex applicatione ad corpus: tandem de secundis & tertijs eorum qualitatibus uel effectibus in genere docet: de ijs inquam quæ maturant, leniunt, indurant cum frigore, obstruunt, aperiunt obstructiones, abstergunt, rarefaciunt, inspissant, aperiunt ora uenarũ, constringunt uenas & poros, adurunt, putrefaciunt & corrodunt, consolidant, attrahunt, uenena pellunt, dolores sedant. Post hæc de tertijs qualitatibus, de ijs quæ frangunt lapides renum, pectus & pulmonem expurgant: caput purgant, item oculos, aures, cerebrum ex ore, per palatum: de ijs quæ stomachũ iuuant læduntue: intestina purgant, & uenas iecoris, & gibbam ipsius partem, & renes, & lienẽ, & uesicam purgant: de ijs quæ prouocant urinam, uesicæ calculos expurgant, libidinem citant, uel imminuunt, lac augent uel siccant, menses eliciunt aut sistunt, stercus ab intestinis repurgant, lumbricos depellunt, sudorem prouocant, cutim purgant.

In fine operis inquit, se de alimentis & medicamentis etiam ordine alphabeti scripturum, quare Galenum sequutus apparet, ac eius librorum de facultatibus simplicium medicaminum epitomen aliquam elucubrasse.

ALBERICVS Roxiatus, patria Bergomensis, utriusq; iuris professor insignis, ædidit in legibus multa instructa uolumina, quibus nominis sui memoriam cum laude transmisit ad posteros, de quibus ista feruntur. T. d. 1540.

Super Codice,	lib. 12.	Super. ff. ueteri,	lib. 24.
Super. ff. nouo,	lib. 12.	Super. ff. Inforciati,	lib. 14.
Super institutis,	lib. 4.	Super VI. Decretalium,	lib. 1.

Fig. 22. Konrad Gessner, *Bibliotheca universalis*, Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1545, f. 17r (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: Dr M 3)



C. PLINII SECVNDI

NATVRALIS HISTORIAE LIBER PRIMVS.

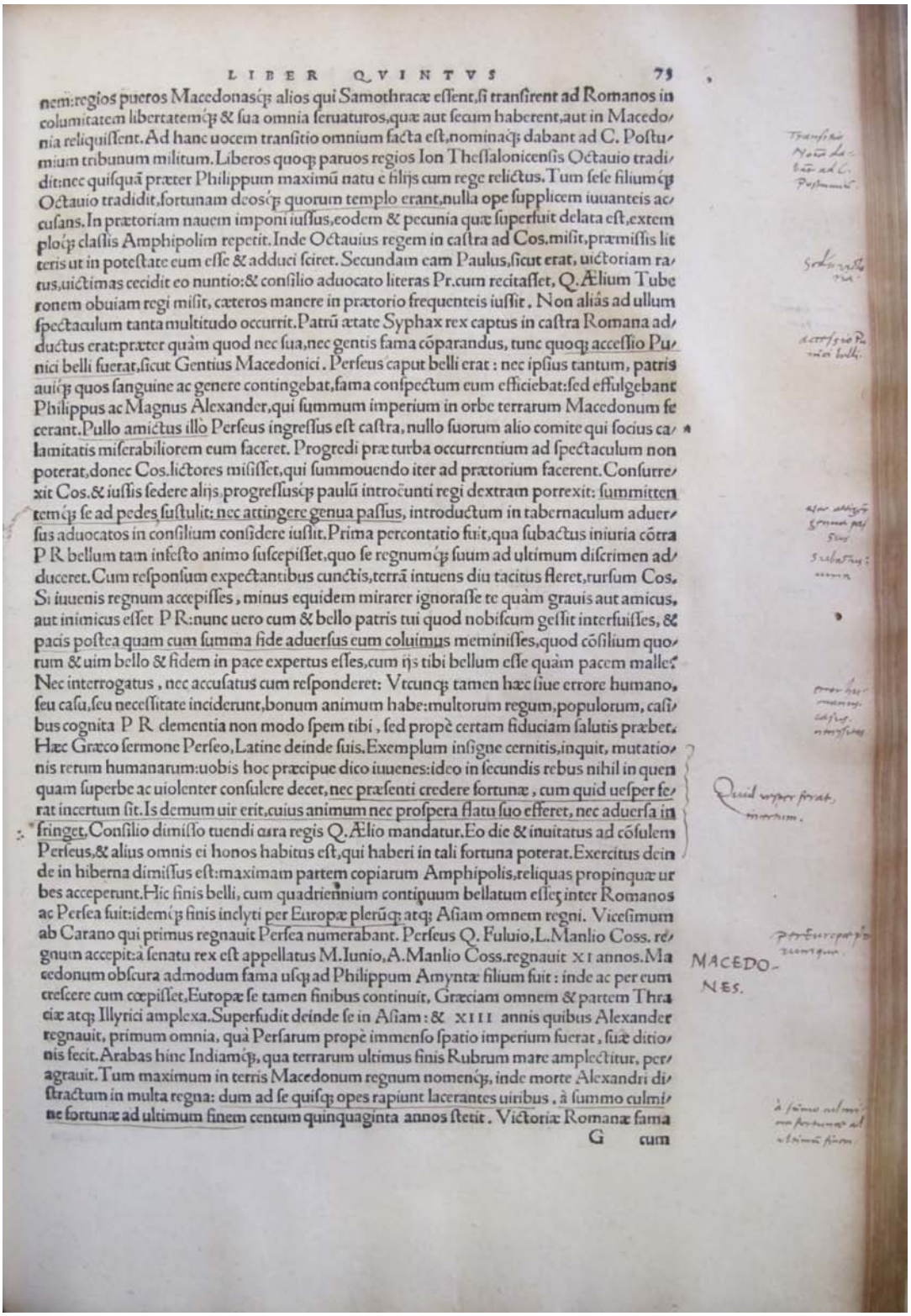
PREFATIO.

C. Plinius Secundus Veronensis Vespasiano suo. S.

Plinius Secundus Vespasiano Caesari suo salutem.

Libros naturalis historiæ, nouitium Camœnis Quiritium tuorum opus, natum apud me proxima fœtura, licentiore epistola narrare constitui tibi iucundissime Imperator (sit enim hæc tui præfatio uerissima, dum maximi consenescit in patre) nanque tu solebas meas esse aliquid putare nugas, ut obiter emolliam Catullum conterraneum meum. Agnoscis & hoc castrense uerbum. Ille enim, ut scis, permutatis priori-
bus syllabis duriusculum se fecit, quàm uolebat existimari à Veraniolis suis & Fabullis. Simul ut hac mea petulantia fiat, quod proxime non fieri questus es in alia procaci epistola nostra, ut in quædam acta exeat, sciántque omnes quàm ex æquo tecũ uiuat imperium. Triumphalis & censorius tu, sextúmq; consul, ac tribunitiæ potestatis particeps: Et quod his nobilius fecisti, dum illud patri pariter & equestri ordini præstas, præfectus prætorio eius. omniáque hæc Reipub. At nobis quidem qualis in castrensi contubernio? Nec quicquam mutauit in te fortunæ amplitudo in his, nisi ut prodesse tantundem posses ut uelles. Itaque cum cæteris in uenerationem tui pateant omnia illa, nobis ad colendum te familiarius audacia sola supereſt. Hanc igitur tibi imputabis, & in nostra culpa tibi ignosces. Perfricui faciem, nec tamen profeci: quando alia uia occurris ingens, & longius etiam submoues ingenii fascibus. Fulgurat in nullo unquam uerius dicta uis eloquentiæ, tribunitiæ potestatis facundia. Quanto tu ore patris laudes tonas? quanto fratris amas? quantus in poetica es? O magna fœcunditas animi: Quemadmodum fratrem quoque imitareris excogitasti. Sed hæc quis posset intrepidus æstimare subiturus ingenii tui iudicium, præsertim lacessitum? Neq; enim similis est conditio publicantium, & nominatim tibi dicantium. Tum possem dicere, quid ista legis imperator? Humili uulgo scripta sunt, agricolarum, opificum turbæ, denique studiorum otiosis: quid te iudicem facis? Cum hanc operam condicerẽ, non eras in hoc albo. Maiorem te sciebam, quàm ut descensurum huc putarem. Præterea est quædam publica etiam eruditorum reiectio. Vtitur illa & M. Tullius, extra omnem ingenii aleam positus, & quod miremur, per aduocatum defenditur. Hæc doctissimum Persium legere nolo, Lælium Decimũ uolo. Quòd si hoc Lucilius, qui primus condidit stili nasum, dicendum sibi putauit: si Cicero mutuandum, præsertim cum de Repub. scriberet: quanto nos cautius ab aliquo iudice defendimur? Sed hæc ego mihi nunc patrocinia ademi nuncupatione. Quam plurimum refert sortiatur aliquis iudicẽ, an eligat: multúmq; apparatus interest apud inuitatum hospitẽ & oblatum. Cum apud Catonem illum ambitus hostem, & repulsis tanquam honoribus indeptis gaudentem, flagrãtibus comitiis pecunias deponerent candidati, hoc se facere pro innocentia (quod in rebus humanis summũ esset) profitebãtur: indè illa nobilis M. Ciceronis suspiratio, O te felicẽ M. Porci, à quo rem improbam petere nemo audet. Cum tribunos appellaret L. Scipio Asiaticus, inter quos erat Gracchus, hoc attestabatur, uel inimico iudici se approbari posse. Adeo summum quisq; causæ suæ iudicem facit, quencunq; eligit, unde prouocatio appellatur. Te quidem in excelsissimo humani generis fastigio positum, summa eloquentia, summa eruditione præditũ, religiosè adiri etiam à salutantibus scio. Et ideo immensa præter cæteras subit cura, ut quæ tibi dicantur, condigna sint. Verum & diis lacte rustici multæq; gentes supplicant, & mola tantum salsa litant, qui non habent tura. Nec ulli fuit uitio deos colere, quoquo modo posset. Meæ quidẽ temeritati accessit hoc quoque,

Fig. 23. Caius Plinius Secundus, *Historiarum naturae libri XXXVII*, Paris, Antoine Augereau pour Galiot du Pré, 1532, p. 46 (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: AW 59)



LIBER QVINTVS 73

nem:regios pueros Macedonasq; alios qui Samothracæ essent,si transirent ad Romanos in columitatem libertatemq; & sua omnia seruaturos,quæ aut secum haberent,aut in Macedonia reliquissent. Ad hanc uocem transitio omnium facta est,nominaq; dabant ad C. Postumium tribunum militum. Liberos quoq; paruos regios Ion Thessalonicensis Octauio tradidit:nec quisquã præter Philippum maximũ natu è filijs cum rege relictus. Tum sese filiumq; Octauio tradidit,fortunam deosq; quorum templo erant,nulla ope supplicem iuuanteis accusans. In prætoriam nauem imponi iussus,eodem & pecunia quæ superfuit delata est,extemploq; classis Amphipolim repetit. Inde Octauius regem in castra ad Cos.misit,præmissis literis ut in potestate eum esse & adduci sciret. Secundam eam Paulus,sicut erat, uictoriam ratus,uictimas cecidit eo nuntio:& consilio aduocato literas Pr.cum recitassel, Q.Ælium Tuberonem obuiam regi misit, cæteros manere in prætorio frequenteis iussit. Non aliàs ad ullum spectaculum tanta multitudo occurrit.Patrũ ætate Syphax rex captus in castra Romana adductus erat:præter quàm quod nec sua,nec gentis fama cõparandus, tunc quoq; accessio Punici belli fuerat,sicut Gentius Macedonici. Perseus caput belli erat : nec ipsius tantum, patris auiq; quos sanguine ac genere contingebat,fama conspectum eum efficiebat:sed effulgebant Philippus ac Magnus Alexander,qui summum imperium in orbe terrarum Macedonum secerant.Pullo amictus illo Perseus ingressus est castra, nullo suorum alio comite qui socius calamitatis miserabiliorem eum faceret. Progredi præ turba occurrentium ad spectaculum non poterat,donec Cos.lictores misisset,qui summouendo iter ad prætorium facerent.Consurrexit Cos.& iussis sedere alijs,progressusq; paulũ introcunti regi dextram porrexit: summittentemq; se ad pedes sustulit: nec attingere genua passus, introductum in tabernaculum aduersus aduocatos in consilium considere iussit.Prima percontatio fuit,qua subactus iniuria cõtra P R bellum tam infesto animo suscepisset,quo se regnumq; suum ad ultimum discrimen adduceret.Cum responsum expectantibus cunctis,terrã intuens diu tacitus fleret,rursum Cos. Si inuenis regnum accepisses, minus equidem mirarer ignorasse te quàm grauis aut amicus, aut inimicus esset P R:nunc uero cum & bello patris tui quod nobiscum gessit interfuisses,& pacis postea quam cum summa fide aduersus eum coluimus meminisses,quod cõsilium quorum & uim bello & fidem in pace expertus esses,cum ijs tibi bellum esse quàm pacem malle? Nec interrogatus , nec accusatus cum responderet: Vtcunq; tamen hæc siue errore humano, seu casu,seu necessitate inciderunt,bonum animum habe:multorum regum,populorum, casibus cognita P R clementia non modo spem tibi , sed propè certam fiduciam salutis præbet. Hæc Græco sermone Perseo,Latine deinde suis.Exemplum insigne cernitis,inquit, mutationis rerum humanarum:uobis hoc præcipue dico iuuenes:ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quem quam superbe ac uiolenter consulere decet,nec præsenti credere fortunæ , cum quid uesper ferat incertum sit.Is demum uir erit,cuius animum nec prospera flatu suo efferet, nec aduersa infringet.Consilio dimisso tuendi cura regis Q.Ælio mandatur.Eo die & inuitatus ad cõsulem Perseus,& alius omnis ei honos habitus est,qui haberi in tali fortuna poterat.Exercitus deinde in hiberna dimissus est:maximam partem copiarum Amphipolis,reliquas propinquæ urbes acceperunt.Hic finis belli, cum quadriennium continuum bellatum esset inter Romanos ac Persea fuit:idemq; finis inclyti per Europæ plerũq; atq; Asiam omnem regni. Vicesimum ab Carano qui primus regnauit Persea numerabant. Perseus Q. Fuluio,L.Manlio Coss. regnum accepit:à senatu rex est appellatus M.Iunio,A.Manlio Coss.regnauit XI annos.Macedonum obscura admodum fama usq; ad Philippum Amyntæ filium fuit : inde ac per eum crescere cum cœpisset,Europæ se tamen finibus continuit, Græciam omnem & partem Thraciæ atq; Illyrici amplexa.Superfudit deinde se in Asiam : & XIII annis quibus Alexander regnauit, primum omnia, quà Persarum propè immenso spatio imperium fuerat , suæ ditionis fecit.Arabas hinc Indiamq;, qua terrarum ultimus finis Rubrum mare amplectitur, peragrauit.Tum maximum in terris Macedonum regnum nomenq;, inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna: dum ad se quisq; opes rapiunt lacerantes uiribus , à summo culmine fortunæ ad ultimum finem centum quinquaginta annos stetit . Victoriæ Romanæ fama

G cum

Fig. 24. Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, Basel, Froben, 1531, p. 73 (Bibliothèque Humaniste de Sélestat, call number: K 1224). With marginal notes, wavy lines and other signs added by Beatus Rhenanus

his table in the Julian ecclesiastical calendar, thus reconnecting chronology to the study of the computus, students of which had worked through the Middle Ages on historical questions, especially about the chronology of the Bible.[106] The German humanist and teacher Paulus Constantinus Phrygio extended the Eusebian format back to the creation of the world. He also rotated his historical table 90 degrees, as Werner Rolevinck had, so that the kingdoms of history marched not from top to bottom of the pages, but from left to right across each two-page opening.[107] The astronomer Johann Funck, son-in-law of the Lutheran theologian Andreas Osiander, gave his version of Eusebius new precision by drawing on the astronomical information given by the ancient writer Ptolemy. He became the first Renaissance chronologer to use eclipses mentioned in ancient texts as absolute dates to which he could connect a Eusebian chronicle.[108]

Glareanus also drew the form of his work from Eusebius. Many of the visual devices he used—such as stretching the notices of vital events like the fall of Troy and the founding of Rome across whole pages, so that they served as clear markers in the stream of time, easily visible and highly memorable—came directly from the printed editions of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, and from the manuscript tradition before them.[109] As Martina Mengele has pointed out, the maps and diagrams in Glareanus's working copy of Livy show that he had a strong visual sense and a skilled hand. Glareanus himself remarked, in the preface to the 1535 edition of the *Chronologia*, that he had asked Froben to print it "following the copy written by my hand, so that it could be printed, so far as is possible, without slips and errors." The extreme care that Nicolaus Episcopius showed in carrying out his instructions, he explained, was what encouraged him to extend the second edition backwards to the fall of Troy and forwards to the time of Justinian.[110] Glareanus could have devised many different *Vorlagen* for his chronology, and his painstaking publisher could have reproduced them in print—as his competitor, Herwagen, did for Paulus Constantinus Phrygio. It is all the more striking, then, that he found the model of the Eusebian synchronistic table satisfactory, and that he never departed from it in any fundamental way.

What made Glareanus's work distinctive was not the methods he used, which were relatively conventional, but the fact that he reconfigured the Eusebian chronological table to serve as a tool for humanistic scholarship. Most earlier and contemporary chronologers had covered the history of the world, starting either with the Creation or, as Eusebius did, after the Flood. By contrast, Glareanus tied his chronicle to the history of Rome, as narrated by Livy. And in doing so he made one vital point clear. In the early modern period, many readers assumed that one narrative—usually that of Livy—was substantially identical with Roman history as a whole. Machiavelli, for example, knew the work of Polybius, which differed at many points from that of Livy, and he drew on the profound analysis of how constitutions change that appears in book 6 of the Greek historian's work. But in lecturing and writing on the history of the Roman Republic, he assumed that he could simply take the text of Livy as an authoritative account. Glareanus, by contrast, showed from the start that parts of Livy's chronology were uncertain and problematic, and noted that other sources narrated some of the same events in different ways. True, as Arnaldo Momigliano pointed

---

[106] See Philipp Nothaft, *Dating the Passion: The Life of Jesus and the Emergence of Scientific Chronology, 200–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[107] Paulus Constantinus Phrygio, *Chronicum* (Basel: Herwagen, 1534). On Phrygio see Rosenberg and Grafton (footnote 12) and Nothaft (footnote 106), and cf. Phrygio's letter to Beatus Rhenanus and Rhenanus's sharp judgment on his intellect, erudition and understanding of printing terminology: Beatus Rhenanus, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Adalbert Horawitz and Karl Hartfelder (Leipzig: Teubner, 1886), pp. 414–415.

[108] Johann Funck, *Chronologia* (Nuremberg: Petreius, 1545). On Funck see Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983–1993), 2, pp. 126–129. As Nothaft (n. 106) shows, medieval scholars also worked on these lines, though Scaliger and other Renaissance chronologers tended to ignore them.

[109] See esp. Grafton and Williams (footnote 12) and Rosenberg and Grafton (footnote 12).

[110] Henricus Glareanus, ep. ded. (October 1534), in: *Chronologia sive temporum supputatio in omnem Romanam historiam* (Basel: Froben, 1535), f. a verso: "In ea autem, ut absque errore atque mendis, quantum fieri posset, ad exemplar nostra manu descriptum excuderetur, quum uidissem summam adhibuisse curam Nicolaum Episcopium, Hieronymi Frobenii velut alterum Theseum, illectus sum ut longius dilatarem eam et a principio et a fine. Itaque exorsus a Troia capta, altius repetitis annis, propter eximii viri Dionysii Halicarnassei praeclarissimam historiam, adieci post Liuii tempora singulis cum Consulibus annos ad Iustinianum usque Caesarem." Other authors of complex chronological works also drew up models for their publishers to follow, page by page and sometimes almost line by line. For Jehan de Mouveaux's additions to the 1512 Estienne edition of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, see Way (footnote 17).

out long ago, during the sixteenth century no one ventured to replace Livy's account of Roman history with a more rigorous one.[111] But chronologers like Glareanus did a great deal to convince critical readers of history like François Baudouin and Jean Bodin, who wrote treatises on how to read history in the 1560s, that Livy must be read in a critical spirit and systematically compared with other historians.[112]

Much of the textual work that the Princeton and Paris copies record consists of relatively simple, mechanical tasks. Glareanus seems to have been determined to pack his tables with much more information than they had originally contained: short summaries of Roman history, descriptions of Roman institutions and their origins, notes on synchronisms between Roman and biblical history, and the like. The text and notes of the Princeton copy, reproduced below, will give a better sense of what Glareanus was trying to achieve than any summary can.

But Glareanus had more in mind than simply adding more facts and dates. He was well aware that chronology presented multiple technical problems, many of which had not been solved by his predecessors and contemporaries. A long note reflected on the simple but deadly problem that the ancients had sometimes counted inclusively when they gave a sum of days or years, causing endless confusion:

"Thus each Olympiad is said to take place in the fifth year [after the last], though the period is of only four years. But only three years came between the naming of the first and the fifth [as Olympic years]. Because of this the rustic Romans took the lustrum for a period of five years, because the lustrum took place in every fifth year if no obstacle came up, though it was only four years long."[113]

This point was not new in itself. Everyone had read somewhere, for example, that the Romans had originally misunderstood Caesar's rule that a day should be intercalated in every fourth year because they counted inclusively, and added the day in every third year—an error that Augustus eventually corrected. But Glareanus used an exceptionally recondite source, the scholia on a Hellenistic poet of legendary obscurity, to confirm his argument that the Olympic cycle lasted four years only: "Lycophron[i] interpres quingentesimo quoque mense olympica celebrari scripsit et quinto die ludis olympiacis finem imponunt" [The commentator on Lycophron wrote that the Olympic games were celebrated in every fiftieth month, and they end the Olympic games on the fifth day]. Here and elsewhere, as both the printed text of Glareanus's work and the marginal annotations in his copies in Paris and Princeton show, he was engaged with central problems of humanistic scholarship.

Every humanist knew that—as Glareanus's chronology vividly revealed—Rome had traced its origins to Troy. But even in antiquity no scholar had known for certain when Troy itself fell. In some ways, then, the baseline for the whole chronological framework that Glareanus and his colleagues wished to erect was shaky. But one of the ancient sources suggested that a rigorous dating might be possible. One of the ancient cyclic poems that described the whole course of the Trojan War, as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* did not, was the *Little Iliad* of Lesches. And a fragment of that poem, now lost, stated that on the night when the Trojans had taken the Greek horse inside the city and the Greeks sailed back to enter it, "it was midnight and a bright moon was rising."[114] The ancient Greek calendar was lunar. The moon rises at midnight when it is at third quarter, nearing the end of a lunar month. Apparently, further evidence now lost showed that in this case, the night in question fell seventeen days before the summer solstice. Ingenious Greek antiquaries inferred that the solstice had taken place in the last month

---

111 Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950), pp. 285–315. See also Lisa Jardine and Anthony T. Grafton, "'Studied for Action: How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy", *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), pp. 3–51.

112 Hendrik Johannes Erasmus, *The Origins of Rome in Historiography from Petrarch to Perizonius* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962).

113 Princeton copy, p. 10: "In omni temporum ac annorum ratione hoc difficultatis incidit, quod et initium et finis denominationis semper aliquid intertrimenti (ut ita loquamur) accipiunt. Quemadmodum exempli gratia Christus tertio die resurrexisse a mortuis dicitur cum unum duntaxat diem et aliquot horis prioris diei ac unam item noctem ac dimidiam tantum in sepulchro iacuerit. Eodem modo secundus Christi natalis annus numeratur cum et inguit [scribal error?] incipit et finitur. Sic olympias altera quinto quoque anno esse dicitur cum sit spatium dumtaxat quatuor annorum. Tres autem tantum anni inter primi anni ac quinti denominationem intererant. Hec res effecit apud rusticos Romanos ut vulgo lustrum caperent pro quinque annorum spatio videlicet quia quinto quoque anno (si nihil impedimenti incidisset) lustrum fiebat cum quatuor dumtaxat esset annorum."

114 *Ilias parva* 12. For this and the other ancient sources see Anthony T. Grafton and Noel M. Swerdlow, "Greek Chronography in Roman Epic: The Calendrical Date of the Fall of Troy in the *Aeneid*," *Classical Quarterly*, new ser., 36 (1986), pp. 212–218.

of the lunar year, called Scirophorion at Athens. Accordingly, Troy must have fallen in the eleventh month, Thargelion. Dionysius of Halicarnassus preserved this dating (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.63).

This text, in turn, was studied by the Byzantine émigré humanist Theodore Gaza, who tried to reconstruct the Attic calendar so that his contemporaries could date their letters with Attic months and days. He took the passage in question as a fragment from the history of Ephorus, transmitted by Dionysius, and decided that it was corrupt. Following Plato very literally,[115] Gaza assumed that the summer solstice always came at the very end of the Greek lunar year. If Troy fell seventeen days before the solstice, it must have fallen in Scirophorion, the last month of the Athenian year. Gaza accordingly suggested that the name of the month in question be emended from Thargelion to Scirophorion.[116] Glareanus knew both Gaza's discussion and Biragus's translation of the passage (as we have seen, he had edited the text of Dionysius, and he provided it with a version of his chronology of Livy). In the printed editions, he followed Gaza. But a revealing marginal note in the Princeton and Paris copies shows that he continued to examine the evidence and think about the passage:

"Dionysius ait. Dionysii locus in graeco codice qui Lutetie nuper exiit corruptus est, id quod etiam Theodoro Gazae visum est in libello de mensibus. Lapus Biragus florent: Dionysii interpres videtur melius exemplar habuisse quam quod Lutetie excusum est." [The passage of Dionysius is corrupt in the Greek text that recently appeared at Paris, as Theodore Gaza also saw in his little book on the Greek months. Lapo Biragus of Florence, the translator of Dionysius, seems to have had a better copy than the one that was printed at Paris.]

Glareanus accordingly altered the passage in his printed text to reflect the wording of the Greek, as he thought it should be emended, more precisely.

As this passage shows, Glareanus was still working on the chronology of Troy's fall in 1546–1547, when Robert Estienne's edition of the Greek text appeared at Paris, and not long before Hummelberg made his copy of these notes. Sadly, Glareanus, like Gaza, was wrong. As Wilhelm Holzmann (Xylander) showed in his edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*, the Greek text was not corrupt. The Greek scholars whose work Dionysius preserved were trying to establish not the interval of years between the fall of Troy and their own time but the position of the fall of Troy in the Greek lunar year of their own time, and the passage needed no emendation.[117] Still, the note reveals Glareanus's continued engagement with the central problems of technical chronology, in the form that most interested classical humanists. If Glareanus's annotated copies of Biragus's translation of Dionysius's text and of the Greek original still exist, they must reveal further stages of his scholarly struggles.

Another set of notes also connects these books to the form of chronological scholarship that most interested Glareanus and his contemporaries—but in a more surprising way. Just after his discussion of Aeneas's son Sylvius, Glareanus remarks: "Hoc anno primo Homerus vixisse dicitur Smyrneus Regis Assyriorum Thautei praefectus ut refert Archilochus de octo Homeris" [In this year the first Homer is said to have lived, the one from Smyrna, the prefect of Thauteus, king of Assyria. This according to Archilochus on the eight Homers.][118] Five more references to Archilochus and/or Homer appear in the course of Glareanus's notes, each one of them giving a date for one of the eight Homers.[119]

---

[115] Plato states in the Laws that the magistrates should assemble one day before the new year was to begin, with the new moon that follows the summer solstice (767C). But there is no reason to take this statement, made in a late, prescriptive work, as a description of the Athenian calendar. See Grafton (footnote 108), 2, p. 46 f., for Renaissance discussions of this and other relevant texts.

[116] Theodore Gaza, *De mensibus* 9; *Patrologia Graeca* 19, cols. 1192 f. On this work and its context see Paul Botley, "Renaissance Scholarship and the Athenian Calendar," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 46 (2006), pp. 395–431. Botley does not deal with the chronology of Troy's fall.

[117] Plutarch, *Moralia*, ed. William Xylander (Frankfurt, 1620), Annotationes, cols. 192 f.: "Equidem diserte Dionysius dixit, triginta septem diebus ante novi anni initium captam esse Troiam. Quod si ergo Thargelioni (cuius die xxiii ea capta fuisse hic perhibetur, si Atticam mensium seriem et rationem sequamur) de his septem tribuas: nonne triginta adhuc pro Scirophorione mense dies restabunt, et annus insequens a prima Hecatombaeonis initium sumet?"

[118] Princeton copy, p. 3.

[119] Ibid., p. 4: "Hoc anno quartus Homerus Salaminius Cyprius institor vixisse proditur apud Archilochum"; ibid.: "Hoc anno quintus Homerus Colophonius pictor et sculptor"; ibid., 6: "Sextum Homerum hoc tempore vixisse Atheniensem quidam scribunt legis latorem"; ibid., p. 7: "Septimus Homerus apud Archilochum his temporibus aut paulo post vixisse perhibetur Musicus et Geometra"; ibid., p. 13: "Hac aetate Homerus 8us [= octavus] poeta vixisse dicitur apud Archilochum."

Archilochus is remembered nowadays as an archaic Greek lyric poet, not an authority on the chronology of Homer. As to the eight Homers, they are a reminder of Hellenistic debates about the date and home of the original epic poet. So many of these were proposed that it was impossible for scholars to reconcile them except by inferring that there had actually been several distinct Homers, who lived in different times and places.[120] What, one wonders, does the poet Archilochus have to do with these dry discussions of Alexandrian grammarians?

The answer is clear, and it connects Glareanus in a decisive but unexpected way to the central chronological debates of his time. Eusebius was not the only major authority in this field. In 1498, Giovanni Nanni or Annius of Viterbo had published his *Antiquities*—a massive series of short chronicles in Latin, which he ascribed to the Chaldean priest Berosus, the Egyptian priest Manetho and other ancient worthies, fragments of whose works were preserved by Josephus and Eusebius. He sank each of these texts—printed, in the first edition, in a large type that evoked the authority of the Latin Bible—into a foam of tightly-printed, verbose commentaries, many times longer than the texts they explicated. Annius disliked humanists and loathed the Greek writers, such as Herodotus, on whom they relied when reconstructing the history of the ancient world. In his view, philologists like Lorenzo Valla, who in his years at the papal curia had translated Thucydides and Herodotus into Latin, had unleashed *Graecia mendax*, deceitful Greece, on unsuspecting Christians.[121] To frustrate their knavish tricks he devised his own counter-history of the entire ancient world. The *Antiquities* was studded with fascinating details. Annius, as Walter Stephens has taught us, spread what became the popular view that giants had populated the world before the Flood, and that Noah, who was one of them, used astrology to predict the Flood.[122] In the golden age of ancient culture that Annius reconstructed, when the Etruscans of his own city, Viterbo, had created their rich culture, modern rulers like the Borgia, to whom he dedicated his work, could find their ancient ancestors (Isis and Osiris, in their case).[123] North European readers, for their part, could trace the descent of their nations from heroes like Dryius (the founder of the Druids) and Longo and Bardus (the founders of the Lombards).[124] And all of them could learn why these histories were preferable to the mendacious ones of the Greeks.

A well-trained Dominican theologian, Annius knew that he could not expect readers to accept his offerings without solid arguments of the best scholastic sort. Accordingly, he did more than simply forge texts. He also gave formal reasons, in his commentaries, why readers should find his texts were superior to their rivals. As the reader went through Berosus, Manetho, and Metasthenes, he learned, again and again, that he must not trust individualistic Greek historians, but only the priestly annalists of Egypt and Chaldea. They had been the "public notaries" of their kingdoms, and their works had had official status. Each forged author in turn offered a version of this advice, and Annius harped on it repeatedly in his comments.[125] To improve this already elegant set of arguments even more convincing, Annius also claimed—as ancient and

---

[120] For the ancient tradition of excavating poets' biographies from their works, see Mary Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London: Duckworth, 1981). On the early history of scholarly interest in the question of Homer's lives, see Agostino Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio: Le sue versioni omeriche negli autografi di Venezia e la cultura greca del primo umanesimo* (Venice and Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1964).

[121] Eugène Napoleon Tigerstedt, "Ioannes Annius and *Graecia Mendax*", *Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of B.L. Ullman*, ed. Charles Henderson, jr., 2 vols. (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1964), 2, pp. 293–310.

[122] See Walter Stephens, "When Pope Noah Ruled the Etruscans: Annius of Viterbo and his Forged Antiquities," *Modern Language Notes*, 119, Number 1, Supplement, (January 2004), pp. 201–223, and more generally his *Giants in Those Days* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

[123] For the Roman context see Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), and *The Scarith of Scornello: A Tale of Renaissance Forgery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[124] See e.g. Thomas Downing Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950); Frank Borchardt, *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1971); Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, *Annius von Viterbo und die schwedische Historiographie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Uppsala: K. Humanistiska vetenkaps-samfundet i Uppsala, University, 1992); Robert E. Asher, *National Myths in Renaissance France: Francus, Samothes and the Druids* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).

[125] See esp. Werner Goez, "Die Anfänge der historischen Methoden-Reflexion in der italienischen Renaissance und ihre Aufnahme in der Geschichtsschreibung des deutschen Humanismus," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 56 (1974), p. 25ff.; Werner Goez, "Die Anfänge der historischen Methoden-Reflexion im italienischen Humanismus," *Geschichte in der Gegenwart. Festschrift für K. Kluxen* (Paderborn, 1972), p. 3ff.; Christopher Ligota, "Annius of Viterbo and Historical Method", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987), pp. 44–56.

medieval forgers so often did—that he had received his texts at Genoa from a dramatically distant source, fellow Dominicans from Armenia named Brother George and Brother Matthias.

Erasmus was briefly taken in by Annius, but other members of his wider circle—notably Juan Luis Vives and Beatus Rhenanus—were among the first to see that these texts were forged.[126] Glareanus, as we have seen, worked at the humanistic cutting edge of chronological scholarship. The notes in his copy of the forgeries of Annius, now in the Universitätsbibliothek in Munich, shows that he too had seen through the Dominican forger's textual maneuvers.[127] Annius's claim to have received the texts from an exotic source moved Glareanus to characteristic heights of mockery:

"Ha ha. du boss.[128] Mirum vero, quare Annius non dicat nobis, qua lingua frater Matthias exhibuerit ei Berosi hosce libros. Si Graeca, cur non recenset ea graece? Si Armenia, quis fuit interpres? Si Chaldaica aut alia quapiam lingua, Quis vertit? Valde suspectam hanc historiam facit, quam oportebat verissimam videri quando toties sacrae comparatur." [It is strange that Annius does not tell us in what language Brother Matthias showed him these books of Berosus. If it was Greek, why doesn't he edit them in Greek? If it was Armenian, who was the translator? If it was Chaldean [normally this would mean Aramaic] or some other language, who translated it? That makes this history very problematic, and it should have been absolutely true, since it is compared so often to the biblical text.][129]

Annius ascribed one of the texts he had forged to Archilochus. In his introductory commentary, he wrote that "as I showed at the beginning of the fragments of Cato, the Greek people is completely confused."[130] Glareanus saw how absurd it was to forge a Greek text in order to show that the Greeks had not known their own past. He mocked the Dominican relentlessly: "Vide invidiam in gentem Graecam. Nullam aliam ob causam quam quod ipse nesciebat graece. hinc ille [!] lacrymae." [Note his hatred of the Greek people. This was only because he himself did not know Greek. Hence these tears!].[131] Glareanus, in other words, saw that the Annian texts were fakes. Every literary gesture with which the Dominican had tried to prove that his forgeries were genuine simply made their true nature more evident to the skeptical humanist, who recognized the millennial tactics of the forger.[132]

And yet, it was from the Annian Archilochus that Glareanus took both the idea that there had been eight Homers and their dates and identities. In doing so, he continued a tradition that had begun centuries before Annius came along. At some point in the Hellenistic period, a scholar now forgotten compiled the opinions of earlier writers on the date of Homer. He ascribed them to "*hoi peri Aristarchon*" (literally, "the school of Aristarchus"), "*hoi peri Eratosthenen*" and so on. He also noted that other scholars had dated Homer to around the time of Archilochus (*heteroi de kata Archilochon*). Eusebius incorporated this material in his Chronicle, presumably as he found it.[133] When Jerome translated the passage, however, he assumed that the phrase "*hoi peri*" was just an elegant variation: it meant not "the school of Aristarchus," but Aristarchus. He was almost certainly right. Unfortunately, he went further and assumed that "*heteroi kata Archilochon*" was another elegant variation of the same kind. It meant not that some had dated Homer to the time of Archilochus but that Archilochus himself had dated Homer.[134] Jerome thus transformed Archilochus from a poet into a grammarian. His error found vast diffusion in

---

[126] See e.g. Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). Beatus himself was deceived at first by the forgeries. See Christopher B. Krebs, *A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus's Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich* (New York: Norton, 2011).

[127] *Antiquitatum variarum volumina xvii* (Paris: Ascensius, 1512), call number: W 2°Coll. 15.

[128] Boss/ Poss means beggar.

[129] Ibid., cxiiii verso, where Annius, at the beginning of book three of Berosus, tells of his talk with Frater Matthias from the Armenian province of his order and his friend master George from whom "hanc Berosi deflorationem dono habui."

[130] Ibid., lxxxiii verso: "quia ut in principio fragmentorum Catonis probavimus graecorum genus est confusissimum."

[131] Ibid.

[132] See in general Grafton (footnote 126) and the classic works of Wolfgang Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung*. (Munich: Beck, 1971), and *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike. Mit einem Ausblick auf Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Hypomnemata, 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970).

[133] This set of datings is preserved in Greek in Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos* 31, and Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis* 1.117, as well as in the remains of Eusebius's Greek original, in Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga chronographica*, ed. Alden Mosshammer (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984), p. 211.

[134] Eusebius, *Chronici canones*, tr. Jerome, ed. John Knight Fotheringham (London: Humphrey Milford, 1923), p. 108: "Licet Archilocus … supputet"; the Armenian version has the same mistake.

the manuscripts and editions of the Latin Chronicle, and it was here that Annius found it. For all the scorn that Glareanus showed as he went through Annius's text of Archilochus, he seems to have decided that it contained valid information.

It was not unusual for an erudite chronologer to draw on Annius. Tolosani, Phrygio and Funck all did the same. But this was Glareanus: a Hellenist who took pride in collating the new Greek edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus with the Latin translation that he had edited and the work of Theodore Gaza, a critical humanist who found Annius's texts and commentary risible when he read them, still seems to have thought one of the forgeries useful. Glareanus was not the only distinguished scholar to work in this way. Jean Bodin, whose *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* appeared in 1566, also both suggested that the Annian texts were of doubtful value and drew on them.[135]

Glareanus himself, after all, recognized that his work contained errors, and argued that these were unavoidable in this complex and demanding field. New information kept becoming available, and often it required revisions. The *Chronicle* of Cassiodorus, which contained a list of consuls that seemed as if it might be superior to Livy's, began to be studied in the early sixteenth century and reached print in 1529.[136] It attracted the scholarly attentions of Glareanus's own teacher of mathematics, Ioannes Cochlaeus, who prepared the first edition, as well as the distinguished jurist Gregorius Haloander and the statesman and historian Johannes Cuspinian.[137] Glareanus's own words suggest that the appearance of Cassiodorus's work in print inspired him to compile his Livian *Chronologia*. Yet he readily admitted that the new material had created more disagreement than consensus.[138] In Glareanus's preface to the 1540 version of his chronology, he mentioned that his fellow countryman and fellow chronologer Aegidius Tschudi, who had just returned from Rome, had shown him "a very different version of the names of the magistrates, from ancient monuments copied at Rome, than either the texts of Livy or Cassiodorus and certain others had displayed. But at the moment I did not have sufficient free time to make all of these corrections. God will grant that we do a more

---

[135] See Anthony Grafton, "Traditions of Invention and Inventions of Tradition in Renaissance Italy: Annius of Viterbo", *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Humanism in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 76–103.

[136] The first edition of the *Chronicle* forms part of Joannes Sichardus (ed.), *En damus chronicon, divinum plane opus eruditissimorum autorum, repetitum ab ipso mundi initio ad annum usque salutis M.D.XII* (Basel: Henricus Petri, 1529), f. 156 recto–167 recto. A prefatory letter to Thomas More from the scholar who edited the text and sent it to Sichardus, Joannes Cochleus, appears ibid., f. 155 recto-verso.

[137] See Hans Ankwicz-Kleehoven, *Der Wiener Humanist Johannes Cuspinian: Gelehrter und Diplomat zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilians I.* (Graz and Cologne: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1959), p. 101, 290, 294–295, 302–308. For a sense of how exciting these men found Cassiodorus's work see Cuspinian's description of his research into Roman chronology and history in a letter to Pirckheimer, 25 November 1526, in Cuspinian, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Hans Ankwicz v. Kleehoven (Munich: Beck, 1933), p. 155: "Habet prima pars omnes COSS. Cassiodori cum omnibus regibus Assyriis, Latinis, et Romanorum usque ad caesarem Justinianum cum nostris scholiis et annotationibus omnium, qui extant, autorum Graecorum et Latinorum. Imo et cum pontificibus, qui sub iis caesaribus extiterunt cum tribunis militum, qui consularem habuerunt parentem. Sunt horum COSS. anni annotati triplici numero: per Olympiades, per annos urbis conditae, per reges eiectos. Sub Augusto accedit numerus annorum Christi usque ad finem operis. Ut plane deprehendes, qui se Eusebii chronica habere autumant, ne umbram quidem habere. Quot illic deprehendes loca juris civilis et Plinii ac historiarum pene omnium. Malo te videre, quam mihi credere." Cf. Cuspinian to Reuchlin, 6 April 1512, ibid., p. 29.

[138] Henricus Glareanus, ep. ded., *Chronologia* (Basel: Froben, 1531), f. A verso: "ut tamen aliquid lucis etiam nostra opera tali accederet authori, curavi ut temporum ratio per Reges, COSS. reliquosque magistratus ad eam usque aetatem constaret, quatenus vixit Livius. Sane ea apud veteres nemini non erant nota, opinor, quemadmodum hodie, ac haud dubie etiam tum Fastorum dies: apud nos vero adeo deplorata res visa est, ut multi de ea ne cogitarint quidem, magnos alioqui authores emendantes: donec Cassiodori Catalogus de COSS. Romanis, opera Ioannis Coclaei, insignis nostra aetate Theologi ac olim in Mathematicis praeceptoris nostri, in lucem venit. Tum Gregorius Haloander, vir magna, meo iudicio, industria, Iustiniani Caesaris Codicem emendans, Cassiodori corruptum exemplar multis in locis restituit, plurimaque ex aliis authoribus recte emendavit. Idem ego in prioribus annis annisus, qui Liviana continentur historia, nec cum hoc, nec cum illo ubique consentiens, quemadmodum nec inter ipsos ubique convenit. Porro quot locis dissentiam, et quibus authoribus fultus, lector eruditus facile videbit." In fact, all of these versions of the *Fasti consulares* derived ultimately from the same sources, and so none of them could serve as a basis for revising Roman chronology in a fundamental way. See William McCuaig, "The *Fasti Capitolini* and the Study of Roman Chronology in the Sixteenth Century," *Athenaeum* 79 (1991), pp. 141–159, at pp. 141–142. For Cuspinian's work on the *Fasti* of Cassiodorus and his use of material from one of the sources of the Vienna manuscript of the Calendar of Filocalus (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 3416), see the revisionist article by Johannes Divjak, "Cuspinians *Consules* und der Kalender des Filocalus," in: *Iohannes Cuspinianus (1473–1529): Ein Wiener Humanist und sein Werk im Kontext*, ed. Christian Gastgeber and Elisabeth Klecker (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2012), pp. 113–134.

complete job at some point."[139] The monuments in question were the consular Fasti, just discovered in the Roman forum, and soon to be the object of multiple editions and commentaries by Bartolomeo Marliani, Carlo Sigonio, Onofrio Panvinio and many others, all of whom noted in detail their discrepancies from both Livy and the Fasti of Cassiodorus. After a struggle with Pirro Ligorio, Michelangelo would eventually install them, wrongly configured, in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline, and they would continue to attract the interest of antiquaries and historians for centuries.[140] Glareanus, then, had every reason to see his own work as provisional—a point that would be underlined in 1555 by the much younger Sigonio, who criticized his predecessor's work, unfairly, because it did not draw on recent editions of such Greek historians as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Polybius.[141]

The Princeton version of Glareanus's chronology reveals him in a somewhat paradoxical condition: at once a master of complex issues and complicated sources and, at the same time, the victim of the Renaissance's most skillful forger.

---

[139] Henricus Glareanus, *Chronologia* (Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1540), f. c_3 verso: "Hoc dicam, neminem eo in negocio tam cautum, tamque circunspectum esse posse, ut non alicubi vacillet, ut non singulis paginis cavillatoribus sit locus, tanta hac in nomenclatura ob temporum iniuriam est confusio. Quod probe mihi ostendit D. Aegidius Tschudus affinis meus V. C. apud Helvetios, cum reducem e Roma hisce diebus Claronae invisissem: qui, ut est vir multae lectionis, ac omnis antiquitatis diligentissimus indagator, et, quod maximum est, acerrimi iudicii homo, ex antiquis monumentis Rome descriptis commonstravit multo secius magistratus nomina habere, atque nobis vel Livii codices, vel Cassiodorus, aliique nonnulli exhibuerint. Verum nunc non erat tantum ocii, ut ea omnia emendaremus: dabit Deus aliquando ut id plenius exequamur."

[140] See in general Erna Mandowsky and Charles Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*, studies of the Warburg Institute, 28 (London: Warburg Institute, 1963); William McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio. The Changing World of the Late Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Anna Schreurs, *Antikenbild und Kunstanschauungen des neapolitanischen Malers, Architekten und Antiquars Pirro Ligorio (1513–1583)* (Cologne: W. König, 2000); Mary Beard, "Picturing the Roman triumph: Putting the Fasti Capitolini in Context", *Apollo* (July, 2003); William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement 86 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London School of Advanced Study, 2005). For the technical issues see McCuaig (footnote 138). Tschudi and Glareanus must have been among the first to know about the Fasti, since the mining of the Forum in the course of which they were discovered began just as Tschudi was about to leave Rome.

[141] Sigonio's edition of Livy appeared in 1555 at Venice. He criticized Glareanus on the grounds that his work was antiquated because he had not used new editions of such Greek texts as that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Paris 1547). Glareanus defended himself in a text directed to the Basel printer Johannes Herwagen in 1555. Here he noted that the editions in question had not been accessible when he did his early research. Moreover, he would have integrated them into his work if he had not had too much else to do. Glareanus had fallen behind in revising his chronology. Probably he never managed to bring it to the state that he had in mind, and therefore never issued a new edition. His defense reads in part: "In annotationibus nostris aliquoties deploro, quod Polybii ac Dionysii Graeca exemplaria non habuerim: unde facile erat aliquot eruere locos. Noster, ubi hoc legit, nactus hoc feliciori tempore exemplaria, ac inspectis locis, ubi haerebam, cum occasionem habuisset laudandi me, quod candido lectori ostenderim hulcera, tum quomodo sanari possint, indicaverim, hic bonus vir id ad contumeliam trahit: Glareanus non legit Polybium Graecum clamitans, neque Dionysii Graecum exemplar habuit. Quod ipse ego deploro, hoc vitio vertit. Sed, quod impudentius est, cum videt, me loci alicujus nomen, quod non est prorsus vulgare, non tenere memoria, ipse vero de hoc me indicante monitus, ibi ad Indices conversus, invento nomine mox Thyados more clamat, Glareanus non legit Stephanum de Urbibus: quasi vero quis omnium nominum meminisse queat, quae uspiam sint apud authores, etiamsi eos legerit. Ter clamat, me non legisse Priscianum, quem ego conjicio me legisse, antequam ille Cuculus nasceretur. Potuisset, si quid pudoris in eo esset, modeste dicere, Glareanus non animadvertit, quod apud Priscianum est, vel quod Stephanus scribit; quod equidem moleste non tulissem: nihil enim offendor candida admonitione, exemplo D. Erasmi Roterodami, praeceptoris nostri disertissimi. Quis autem ei dixit, nec Stephanum, nec Priscianum legisse me? Quia, inquit, de loco dubitas, qui est apud Stephanum. Elegans ratio! Hic vide dialecticum acumen. Sed hoc pulcherius est, quod ait, me nulla antiqua exemplaria habuisse. Unde hoc scire potuit? Nempe unde priora. Ac nihil hunc etiam mentiri pudet, ipse adjutus exemplaribus antiquis sibi hanc impudenter adscribit gloriam. Ego, qui ex collatione multorum exemplarium tot locos emendarim, audire debeo, Glareanus non habuit antiqua exemplaria. Quid si quis, in hoc authore egregie exercitatus, ex locorum collatione, item ex aliorum authorum lectione ac comparatione multa egregie restituere potuit, non ille etiam laudem meretur?

Saxa quaedam Capitolina ac numismata objicit, quasi illa sint oracula Delphica, cum in his saepe mire erretur. Ante annos viginti tumultuario studio hasce annotationes mihi collegeram, ac postea publicavi. Verum, nunc nactus exemplaria Graeca, ipse ego in meo adeo opere, si modo aliis negotiis non fuissem occupatus, longe plures locos emendare potuissem, quam plagosus ille Orbilius." Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita* …, ed. Arn. Drakenborch, vol. 15/1 (Stuttgart: Ex typographia societatis Wuertembergicae, 1827), p. 543 f. On the quarrel with Sigonius see also William McCuaig (footnote 140), pp. 24–26; Klara Vanek, *Ars corrigendi in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien zur Geschichte der Textkritik*, Historia Hermeneutica Series Studia 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), p. 38.

FACSIMILE AND TRANSCRIPTION
OF HUMMELBERG'S ANNOTATIONS

Size of the Original

32 × 20 cm (12.6 × 7.9")

Rules for the Transcription

1. Spelling and punctuation have been regularized (j has always been transcribed as i).
2. The errors that Hummelberg made as he transcribed the original text have been preserved. Corrections are supplied in the footnotes, often from the Paris version of the notes.
3. Abbreviations and suspensions have normally been expanded.

HENRICHI LORĬTI GLAREANI, PATRICII CLARONENSIS APVD HELVETIOS, IN OMNEIS, QVAE QVIdem extant, T. LIVII Patauini clariſsimi hiſtorici decádas, annotationes, cum eiuſdem CHRONOLOGIA in totam Romanam hiſtoriam, nunc primū non ſine fœnore recognita. Cui BADII elenchus ad alphabeti ordinem deductus, non abſq; lectoris fructu acceſsit. Poſtremo VALLAE iudicium de quibuſdam apud Liuium locis, ex quo eruditus lector, qua cura, qua diligentia autores ſint legendi, facile diſcere poterit.

+ Et mi vandem eiusdem Glareani annotationibus mi magne scripti manu Gabrielis Humelbergij Secundi.

D. ERASMVS Roterodamus cum Friburgi Briſgoiæ degeret, ac hæc Chronologia cum Liuio, in quem tum præfabatur, recens ederetur, in hæc uerba diſſeruit.

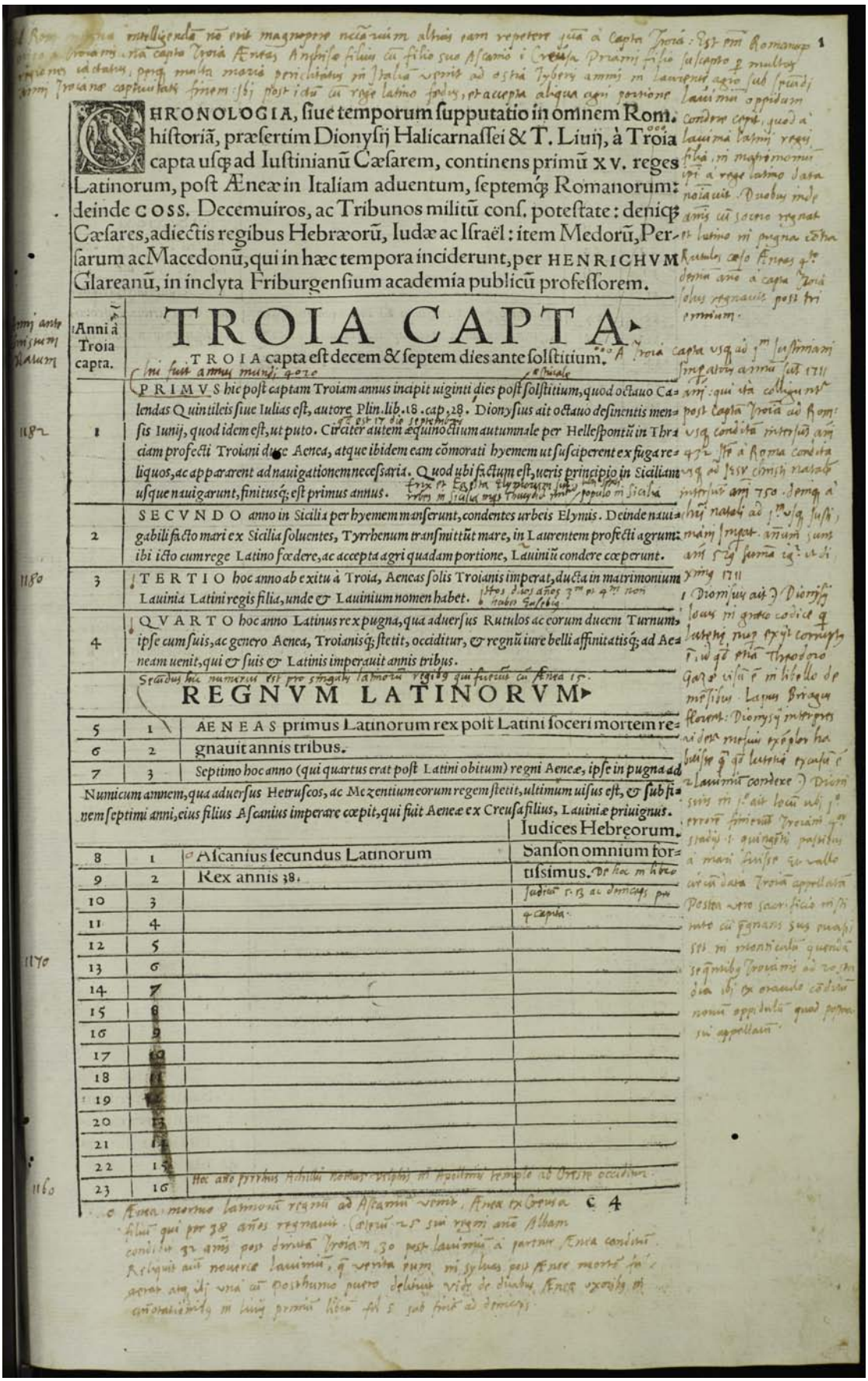
Adiuncta autem eſt huic editioni Chronologia HENRICHI GLAREANI, hominis exquiſitè multifariamq; docti, cuius indefatigabilis induſtria, nō ſolum hoc inclytū gymnaſium Friburgenſe, uerumetiā totam hanc regionem, liberalibus diſciplinis expolit, exornat, locupletat. Ea Chronologia cōmonſtrat temporū ordinem, bellorum ſpecies, ac perſonarum nomina, in quibus haćtenus fuit mira confuſio, ſcribarū ac ſciolorū uitio inducta. Atqui hæc erat unica hiſtoriæ lux. Quod ſi hæc abſit cynoſura, cæca prorſus eſt in hiſtoriarū pelago nauigatio: & niſi hoc adſit filum, inextricabilis error inuoluit lectorem etiam eruditum, in his rerum geſtarum labyrinthis.

Bibliothek

Cum gratia & priuilegio Cæſareæ Maieſt.

BASILEAE
APVD MICH. ISINGRINIVM
M. D. XL.

Est Gabrielis Humelbergij Veltkirchij R.
Anno Dñi. Saluatoris nostri M D XLVIIII.
Mense februario. Friburgi brisgoiæ.
Imp. Cas. Carolo V imperante.



CHRONOLOGIA, siue temporum supputatio in omnem Rom. historiã, præsertim Dionysij Halicarnassei & T. Liuij, à Troia capta usq; ad Iustinianũ Cæsarem, continens primũ XV. reges Latinorum, post Æneæ in Italiam aduentum, septemq; Romanorum: deinde COSS. Decemuiros, ac Tribunos militũ cons. potestate: denicq; Cæsares, adiectis regibus Hebræorũ, Iudæ ac Israël: item Medorũ, Persarum ac Macedonũ, qui in hæc tempora inciderunt, per HENRICHVM Glareanũ, in inclyta Friburgensium academia publicũ professorem.

Anni à Troia capta.

TROIA CAPTA

TROIA capta est decem & septem dies ante solstitium.

PRIMVS hic post captam Troiam annus incipit uiginti dies post solstitium, quod octauo Calendas Quintileis siue Iulias est, autore Plin. lib. 18. cap. 28. Dionysius ait octauo desinentis mensis Iunij, quod idem est, ut puto. Circiter autem æquinoctium autumnale per Hellespontũ in Thraciam profecti Troiani duce Aenea, atque ibidem eam cõmorati hyemem ut susciperent ex fugare liquos, ac appararent ad nauigationem necessaria. Quod ubi factum est, ueris principio in Siciliam usque nauigarunt, finitusq; est primus annus.

1 1182

SECVNDO anno in Sicilia per hyemem manserunt, condentes urbeis Elymis. Deinde nauigabili facto mari ex Sicilia soluentes, Tyrrhenum transmittũt mare, in Laurentem profecti agrum: ibi icto cum rege Latino fœdere, ac accepta agri quadam portione, Lauiniũ condere cœperunt.

2

3 1180 TERTIO hoc anno ab exitu à Troia, Aeneas solis Troianis imperat, ducta in matrimonium Lauinia Latini regis filia, unde & Lauinium nomen habet.

4 QVARTO hoc anno Latinus rex pugna, qua aduersus Rutulos ac eorum ducem Turnum ipse cum suis, ac genero Aenea, Troianisq; stetit, occiditur, & regnũ iure belli affinitatisq; ad Aeneam uenit, qui & suis & Latinis imperauit annis tribus.

Gradus hic numerus est pro singulis Latinorũ regibus qui fuerũt cũ Aenea 15.

REGNVM LATINORVM

5 1 AENEAS primus Latinorum rex post Latini soceri mortem re-
6 2 gnauit annis tribus.
7 3 Septimo hoc anno (qui quartus erat post Latini obitum) regni Aeneæ, ipse in pugna ad Numicum amnem, qua aduersus Hetruscos, ac Mezentium eorum regem stetit, ultimum uisus est, & subsidem septimi anni, eius filius Ascanius imperare cœpit, qui fuit Aeneæ ex Creusa filius, Lauiniæ priuignus.

			Iudices Hebræorum.
8	1	Ascanius secundus Latinorum	Sanson omnium fortissimus.
9	2	Rex annis 38.	
10	3		
11	4		
12	5		
13	6		
14	7		
15	8		
16	9		
17	10		
18	11		
19	12		
20	13		
21	14		
22	15		
23	16	Hoc anno Pyrrhus Achillis nothus, uir fortis, in Apollinis templo ab Oreste occiditur.	

1170

1160

Aenea mortuo Latinorũ regnũ ad Ascanium uenit. Aenea ex Creusa c 4
filiũ qui per 38 annos regnauit. (Ascanius 25 sui regni anno Albam condidit 32 annis post deletam Troiam, 30 post Lauiniũ à patruus Aenea conditum. Reliquit aũt nouercæ Lauiniũ, q uerita puer ni syluius post Aenee mortẽ in lucem erat aliq ibi uita aũt posthumo puero delitescere uidit. de diuitijs Aeneæ exercitij ni cõmoratione uirij in Liuij primũ libro fol 5 sat dictũ ad domicilij.

Ad romanam historiam intelligendam non erit magnopere necessarium altius eam repetere quam a capta Troia. Est enim Romanorum origo a Troianis. Nam capta Troia Aeneas Anchisae filius cum filio suo Ascanio i[142] Creusa Priami filio[143] suscepto per multas regiones iactatus perque multa maria periclitatus in Italiam venit ad Ostia Tyberis amnis in Laurente agro sub secundi anni Troianae captivitatis finem. Ibi post ictum cum rege Latino foedus et accepta aliqua agri portione Lavinium oppidum condere cepit, quod a Lavinia Latini regis filia, in matrimoniun ipsi a rege Latino data nominavit. Duobus inde annis cum socero regnat et Latino in pugna contra Rutulos caeso, Aeneas quarto demum anno a capta Troia solus regnavit post triennium.[144]

A Troia capta usque ad primum Iustiniani Imperatoris annum sunt 1711 anni, qui ita colliguntur: post captam Troiam[145] ad Romam usque conditam intersunt anni 432. Item a Roma condita usque ad Iesu Christi natalem intersunt anni 750. Denique a Christi natali ad primum usque Iustiniani Imperatoris annum sunt anni 529. Summa igitur ut diximus 1711.

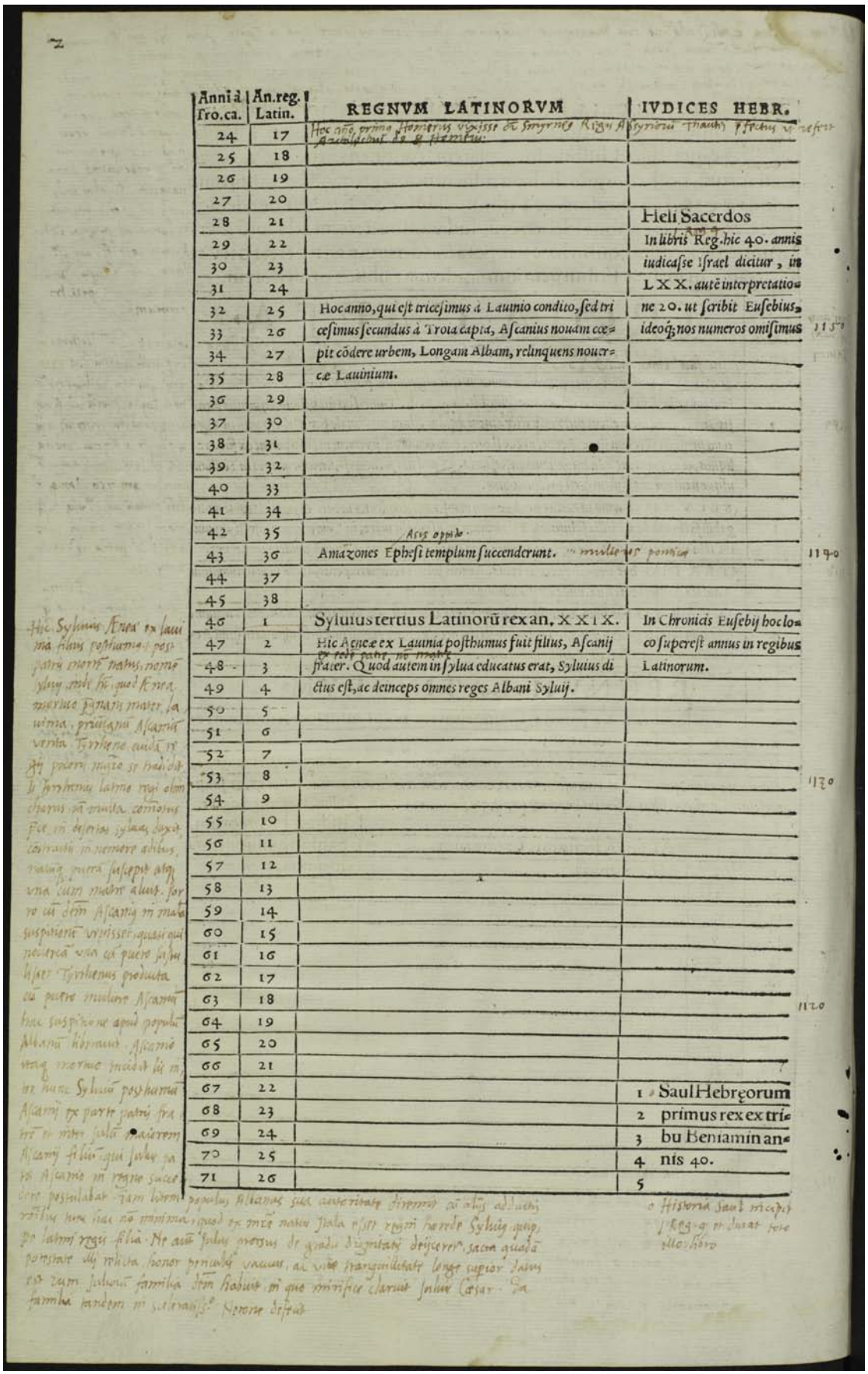
Dionysius ait.[146]) Dionysii locus in graeco codice, qui Lutetie nuper exit, corruptus est, id quod etiam Theodoro Gazae visum est in libello de mensibus.[147] Lapus Biragus[148] Florent[inus] Dionysii interpres videtur melius exemplar habuisse quam quod Lutetie excusum est.[149]

Lavinium condere.) Dionysius in primo [libro][150] ait,[151] locum, ubi primo errorem finierunt, Troiani quatuor stadiis, id est quingentis passibus, a mari fuisse et vallo circumdato Troiam appellatam. Postea vero sacrificio instituto cum pregnans sus evasisset in monticulum quendam, sequentibus Troianis ad 20 stadia, ibi ex oraculo conditum novum oppidulum, quod postea sit [Lavinium][152] appellatum.

Aenea mortuo latinorum regnum ad Ascanium venit, Aeneae ex Creusa filium, qui per 38 annos regnavit. Caeterum 25 sui regni anno Albam condidit, 32 annis post dirutam Troiam, 30 post Lavinium a parente Aenea conditum. Reliquit autem novercae Lavinium, quae verita eum, in sylvas post Aeneae mortem fugerat atque ibi una cum posthumo puero[153] delituit.[154] Vide de duabus Aeneae uxoribus in annotationibus in Livii primum librum, folio 5, sub finem[155] ad[156] deinceps.[157]

11 hic fuit annus mundi 4020
11 aestivale
13 quod est 17 die septembris
16 Erix et Egesta Elymorum sunt urbes in Sicilia inquit Thucydides in initio libri sexti[158]
17 populo in Sicilia
21 Hos duos annos tertium et quartum non habet Eusebius.
26 Secundus hic numerus est pro singulis latinorum regibus qui fuerunt cum Aenea 15.
33 De hoc in libro Iudicum c. 13 ac deinceps per 4 capita.
47 Hoc anno Pyrrhus Achillis nothus Delphis in Apollinis templo ab Oreste occiditur.

142 E (as in the Paris copy).
143 Filia (as in the Paris copy).
144 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, I, 64, 1: "But when Aeneas had sufficiently adorned the city with temples and other public buildings, of which the greatest part remained even to my day, the next year, which was the third after his departure from Troy, he reigned over the Trojans only."
145 The Paris copy reads capta Troia.
146 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, I, 63,1.
147 Theodorus Gaza (ca. 1400–ca. 1475), *De mensibus*, was already printed in the 15th century.
148 Lampugnino Birago (ca. 1390–1472) humanist in Florence. Cf. Valérie Fromentin, "La tradition directe des *Antiquités romaines* (Livre I) et la question de la traduction latine de Lapus Biragus," *Mélanges de l'Ecole francais de Rome. Antiquité* 101 (1989), pp. 37–62; Otto Mazal, *Die Überlieferung der antiken Literatur im Buchdruck des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Bibliothek des Buchwesens, Bd. 14/1, Stuttgart 2003, p. 238 f.
149 The first greek edition of the text was printed in Paris in 1546 by Robert Estienne (Stephanus).
150 "Libro" (as in the Paris copy).
151 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, I, 53, 3.
152 "Lavinium" (as in the Paris copy).
153 The name of Ascanius' son was Silvius, because he was born in the woods.
154 Deliquit (as in the Paris copy).
155 "Fine" would be probably better (as in the Paris copy).
156 Ac (as in the Paris copy).
157 Henricus Glareanus, *In omneis ... T. Livii Patavinii clarissimi historici decadas, annotationes, cum eiusdem Chronologia ...*, Basle, Michael Isengrin, 1540.
158 Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, VI, 2, 3.



Anni à Tro. ca.	An. reg. Latin.	REGNVM LATINORVM	IVDICES HEBR.
24	17	Hoc ano, primo Homerus vixisse dr Smyrnæ Regn Assyriorū Thautei Pthchus	
25	18		
26	19		
27	20		
28	21		Heli Sacerdos
29	22		In libris Reg. hic 40. annis
30	23		iudicasse Israel dicitur, in
31	24		LXX. autē interpretatio=
32	25	Hoc anno, qui est tricesimus à Lauinio condito, sed tri	ne 20. ut scribit Eusebius,
33	26	cesimus secundus à Troia capta, Ascanius nouam cœ=	ideoq; nos numeros omisimus
34	27	pit cōdere urbem, Longam Albam, relinquens nouer=	
35	28	cæ Lauinium.	
36	29		
37	30		
38	31		
39	32		
40	33		
41	34		
42	35	Asys oppido	
43	36	Amazones Ephesi templum succenderunt.	
44	37		
45	38		
46	1	Syluius tertius Latinorū rex an. XXIX.	In Chronicis Eusebij hoc lo=
47	2	Hic Æneæ ex Lauinia posthumus fuit filius, Ascanij	co supereſt annus in regibus
48	3	frater. Quod autem in sylua educatus erat, Syluius di	Latinorum.
49	4	ctus est, ac deinceps omnes reges Albani Syluij.	
50	5		
51	6		
52	7		
53	8		
54	9		
55	10		
56	11		
57	12		
58	13		
59	14		
60	15		
61	16		
62	17		
63	18		
64	19		
65	20		
66	21		
67	22		1 Saul Hebræorum
68	23		2 primus rex ex tri=
69	24		3 bu Beniamin an=
70	25		4 nis 40.
71	26		5

3 Hoc anno primus Homerus vixisse dicitur Smyrneus[159] Regis Assyriorum Thautei praefectus ut refert Archilochus de octo Homeris.[160]

8 i Reg 4

21 Asie oppido

22 mulieres ponticae

25 Hic Sylvius Aeneae ex Lavinia filius posthumus primus post patris mortem natus nomen Sylvii inde habet, quod Aenea mortuo praegnans mater privignum Ascanium verita, Tyrrheno cuidam regii pecoris magistro se tradidit. Is Tyrrhenius Latino regi olim charus, eam multa commotus prece in desertas sylvas duxit, constructis in nemore aedibus, natumque pueram[161] suscepit atque una cum matre aluit. Porro cum deinde Ascanius in malam suspitionem venisset, quasi qui novercam una cum puero sustulisset, Tyrrhenus producta cum puero muliere Ascanium hac suspitione apud populum Albanum liberavit. Ascanio itaque mortuo, incidit lis inter hunc Sylvium, posthumum Ascanii ex parte patris fratrem, et inter Iulum, maiorem Ascanii filium, qui Iulus patri Ascanio in regno succedere postulabat. Eam litem populus Albanus sua autoritate diremit cum aliis adductis rationibus, tum hac non minima, quod ex matre natus Itala[162] esset regni haerede Sylvius, quippe Latini regis filia. Ne autem Iulus prorsus de gradu dignitatis deiiceretur,[163] sacra quadam potestate illi relicta, honor periculis vacuus ac vite tranquillitati longe superior datus est eum.[164] Iuliorum familia deinde habuit, in quo mirifice claruit Iulius Caesar. Ea familia tandem in sceleratissimo Nerone defecit.

27 ex eodem patre non matre

To line 46: Historia Saul incipit I. Reg. 9 et durat toto illo libro

---

159 Quintus Smyrnaeus, Posthomerica, first published in 1504 by Aldus Manutius in Venice.

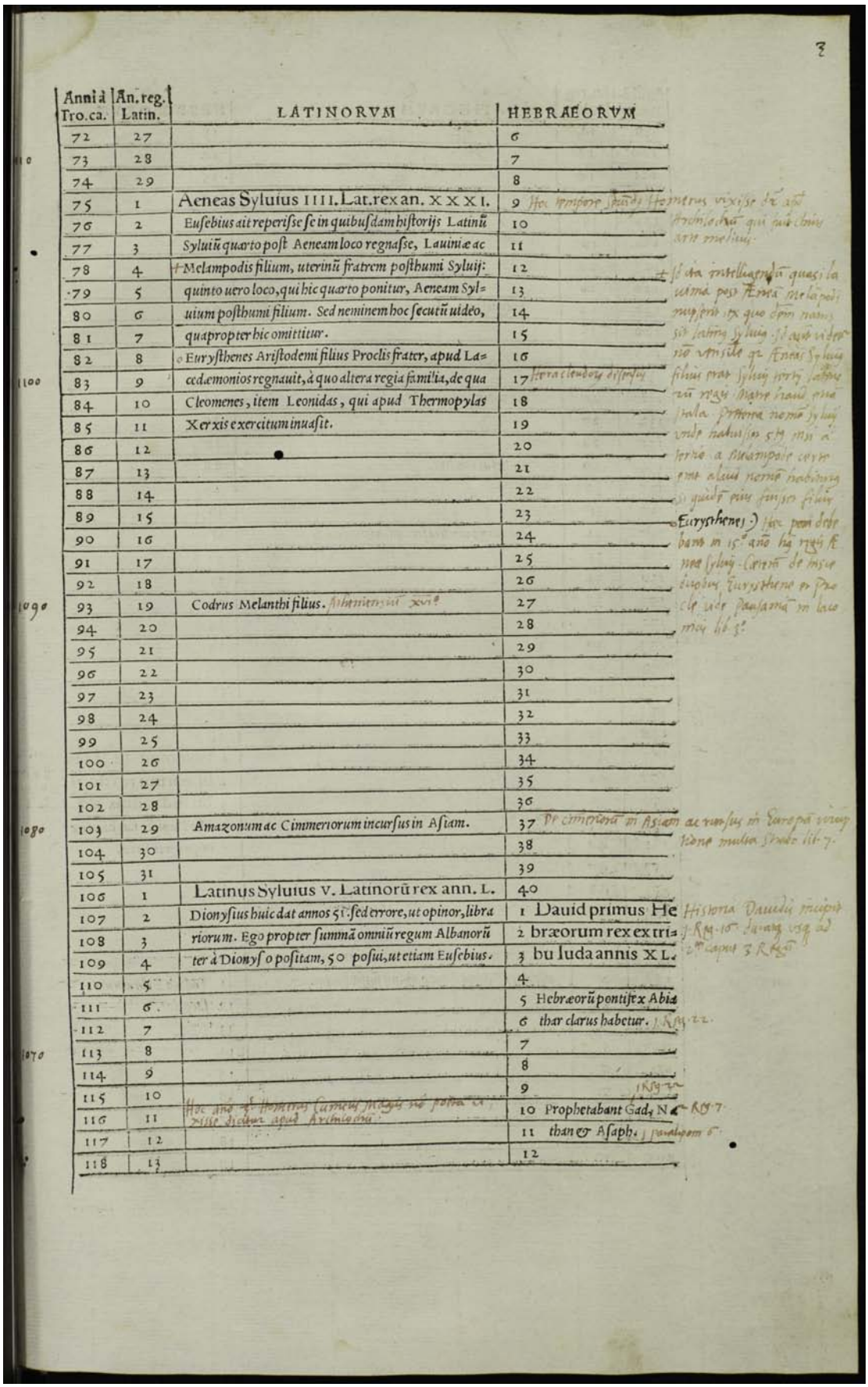
160 Pseudo-Archilochus, *Epithetum*, in Giovanni Nanni, *Antiquitatum variarum volumina xvii* (Paris: Petit and Bade, 1512), fol. LXXXIII verso.

161 Puerum (as in the Paris copy).

162 This word makes no sense here and does not appear in the Paris copy. Perhaps a scribal error.

163 Deiceretur.

164 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, I. 70, 4.



Anni à Tro. ca.	An. reg. Latin.	LATINORVM	HEBRÆORVM
72	27		6
73	28		7
74	29		8
75	1	Aeneas Syluius IIII. Lat. rex an. XXXI.	9
76	2	Eusebius ait reperisse se in quibusdam historijs Latinũ	10
77	3	Syluiũ quarto post Aeneam loco regnasse, Lauiniæ ac	11
78	4	Melampodis filium, uterinũ fratrem posthumi Syluij:	12
79	5	quinto uero loco, qui hic quarto ponitur, Aeneam Syl=	13
80	6	uium posthumi filium. Sed neminem hoc secutũ uideo,	14
81	7	quapropter hic omittitur.	15
82	8	Eurysthenes Aristodemi filius Proclis frater, apud La=	16
83	9	cedæmonios regnauit, à quo altera regia familia, de qua	17
84	10	Cleomenes, item Leonidas, qui apud Thermopylas	18
85	11	Xerxis exercitum inuasit.	19
86	12		20
87	13		21
88	14		22
89	15		23
90	16		24
91	17		25
92	18		26
93	19	Codrus Melanthi filius. Athenienſium xvi°	27
94	20		28
95	21		29
96	22		30
97	23		31
98	24		32
99	25		33
100	26		34
101	27		35
102	28		36
103	29	Amazonum ac Cimmeriorum incursus in Asiam.	37
104	30		38
105	31		39
106	1	Latinus Syluius V. Latinorũ rex ann. L.	40
107	2	Dionysius huic dat annos 51. sed errore, ut opinor, libra	1 Dauid primus He
108	3	riorum. Ego propter summã omniũ regum Albanorũ	2 bræorum rex ex tri=
109	4	ter à Dionyso positam, 50 posui, ut etiam Eusebius.	3 bu Iuda annis XL.
110	5		4
111	6		5 Hebræorũ pontifex Abia
112	7		6 thar clarus habetur.
113	8		7
114	9		8
115	10		9
116	11	Hoc ano ab Homero Cumeus magus nõ procul a	10 Prophetabant Gad, N
117	12	Troia dicitur apud Aristodemũ.	11 than & Asaph.
118	13		12

6 Hoc tempore secundus Homerus vixisse dicitur apud Archilochum qui fuit Chius arte medicus.[165]

9 Id ita intelligendum quasi Lavinia post Aeneam Melampodi nupserit, ex quo deinde natus sit Latinus Sylvius. Id autem videtur non verisimile q[uia] Aeneas Sylvius filius erat Sylvii tertii latinorum Regis, matre[166] haud [dubie][167] etiam Itala. Praeterea nomen Sylvii unde habuisset quintus nisi a tertio? A Melampode certe erat aliud nomen habiturus si quidem eius fuisset filius.

13 Haec poni debebant in quindecimo anno huius regis Aeneae Sylvii. Caeterum de hisce duobus Eurysthene et Procle vide Pausaniam in Laconicis lib[ro] tertio.[168]

14 Heracleidorum descensus.

24 Atheniensium XVIus.

34 De Cimmeriorum in Asiam ac rursus in Europam irruptione multa Strabo lib[ro] 1.[169]

38 Historia Davidis incipit 1. Reg. 16 duratque usque ad secundum caput 3 Regum.

43 1. Reg. 22.

47 Hoc anno tertius Homerus Cumeus Magus[170] non poeta vixisse dicitur apud Archilochum. 1 Reg. 22; 2 Reg. 7; 1 Paralipom. 6.

---

165 Archilochus, *Epithetum* (n. 159), LXXXIII verso.

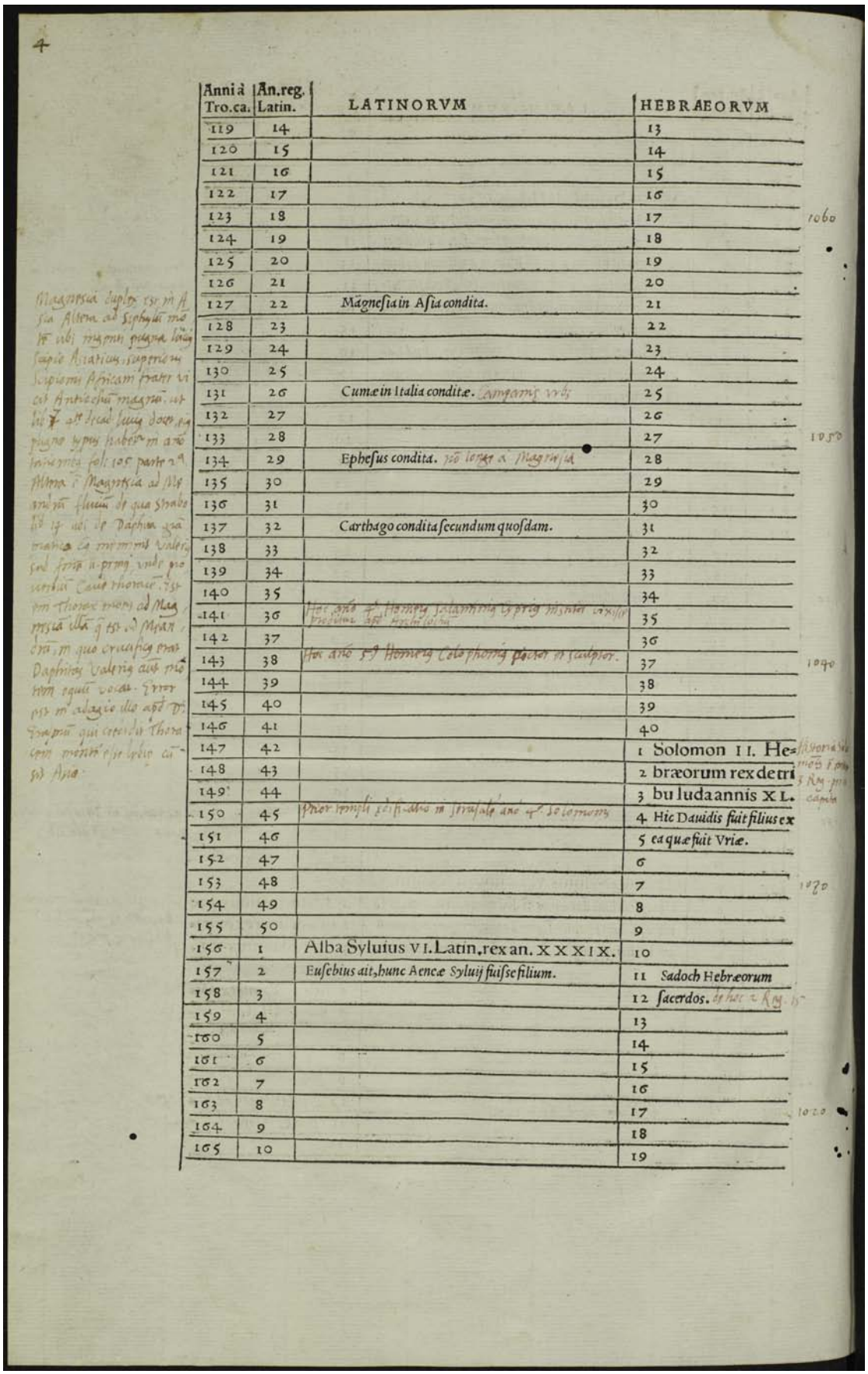
166 Mater.

167 Dubie (as in the Paris copy).

168 Pausanias III, 1, 7–9.

169 Strabo I, 1, 10.

170 Magus is correct, though the Paris copy reads magne. See Pseudo-Archilochus, (n. 160), fol. LXXXIII verso.



Anni à Tro.ca.	An.reg. Latin.	LATINORVM	HEBRAEORVM
119	14		13
120	15		14
121	16		15
122	17		16
123	18		17
124	19		18
125	20		19
126	21		20
127	22	Mägneſia in Aſia condita.	21
128	23		22
129	24		23
130	25		24
131	26	Cumæ in Italia conditæ.	25
132	27		26
133	28		27
134	29	Epheſus condita.	28
135	30		29
136	31		30
137	32	Carthago condita ſecundum quoſdam.	31
138	33		32
139	34		33
140	35		34
141	36		35
142	37		36
143	38		37
144	39		38
145	40		39
146	41		40
147	42		1 Solomon II. He=
148	43		2 bræorum rex de tri
149	44		3 bu Iudæ annis XL.
150	45		4 Hic Dauidis fuit filius ex
151	46		5 ea quæ fuit Vriæ.
152	47		6
153	48		7
154	49		8
155	50		9
156	1	Alba Syluius VI. Latin. rex an. XXXIX.	10
157	2	Euſebius ait, hunc Aeneæ Syluij fuiſſe filium.	11 Sadoch Hebræorum
158	3		12 ſacerdos.
159	4		13
160	5		14
161	6		15
162	7		16
163	8		17
164	9		18
165	10		19

11 Magnesia duplex est in Asia. Altera ad Siphylum[171] montem ubi ingenti pugna Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, superioris Scipionis Africani frater, vicit Antiochum magnum, ut lib. 7 quartae decad[is] Livius docet. Eius pugnae typus habetur in annotationibus fol. 105 parte secunda.[172] Altera est Magnesia ad Meandrum fluvium de qua Strabo lib[ro] 14 ubi de Daphita[173] grammatico,[174] cuius meminit Valerius[175] sub finem li[bri] primi unde proverbium Cave thoracem. Est enim Thorax mons ad Magnesiam illam q[uae] est ad Meandrum, in quo crucificus erat Daphitas.[176] Valerius autem montem equum vocat. Error est in adagio illo apud D. Erasmum,[177] qui credidit, Thoracem montem esse Lybie[178] cum sit Asiae.

15 Campanie urbis

18 non longe a Magnesia

25 Hoc anno quartus Homerus Salaminius Cyprius institor vixisse proditur apud Archilochum[179]

27 Hoc anno quintus Homerus Colophonius pictor et sculptor.[180]

31 Historia Solomonis est initio 3 Reg. per 11 capita

34 Prior templi edificatio in Ierusalem anno quarto Solomonis

42 de hoc 2 Reg. 15

---

171 Sipylus (as in the Paris copy). Today mount Spil in Manisa Province, Turkey.

172 Henricus Glareanus, *In omneis ... T. Livii Patavinii clarissimi historici decadas, annotationes, cum eiusdem Chronologia ...*, Basle, Michael Isengrin, 1540.

173 Daphitas, greek grammarian (3 cent. BC). Cf. Joseph Fontenrose, "The Crucified Daphidas," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 91 (1960), pp. 83–99.

174 Strabo XIV, 1, 39.

175 Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, I, 8, ext. 8.

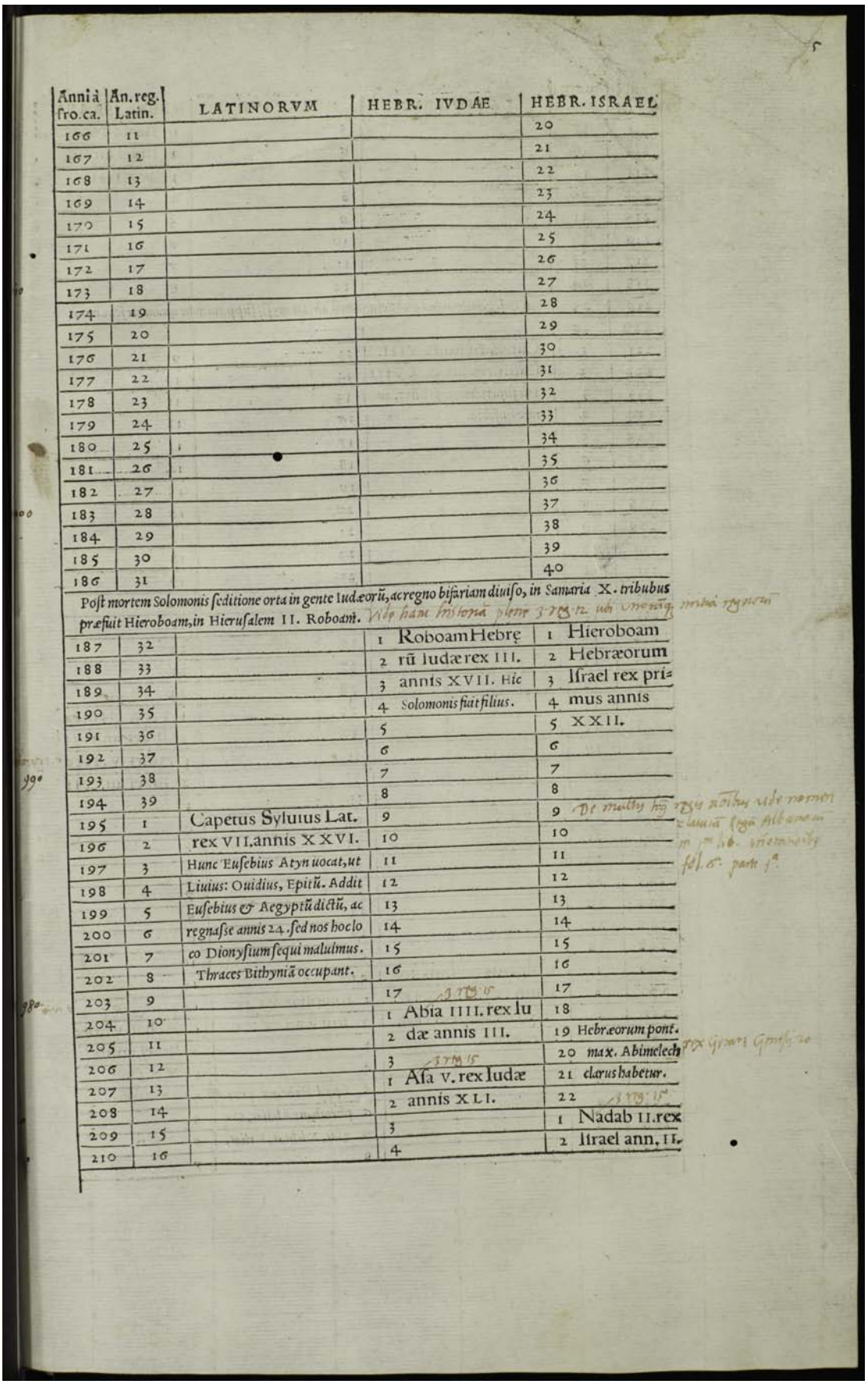
176 Ancient Sophist.

177 Erasmus, *Adagia*, 2, 4, 52.

178 Lydiae (as in the Paris copy).

179 Pseudo-Archilochus (n. 160), fol. LXXXIII verso.

180 Ibid.



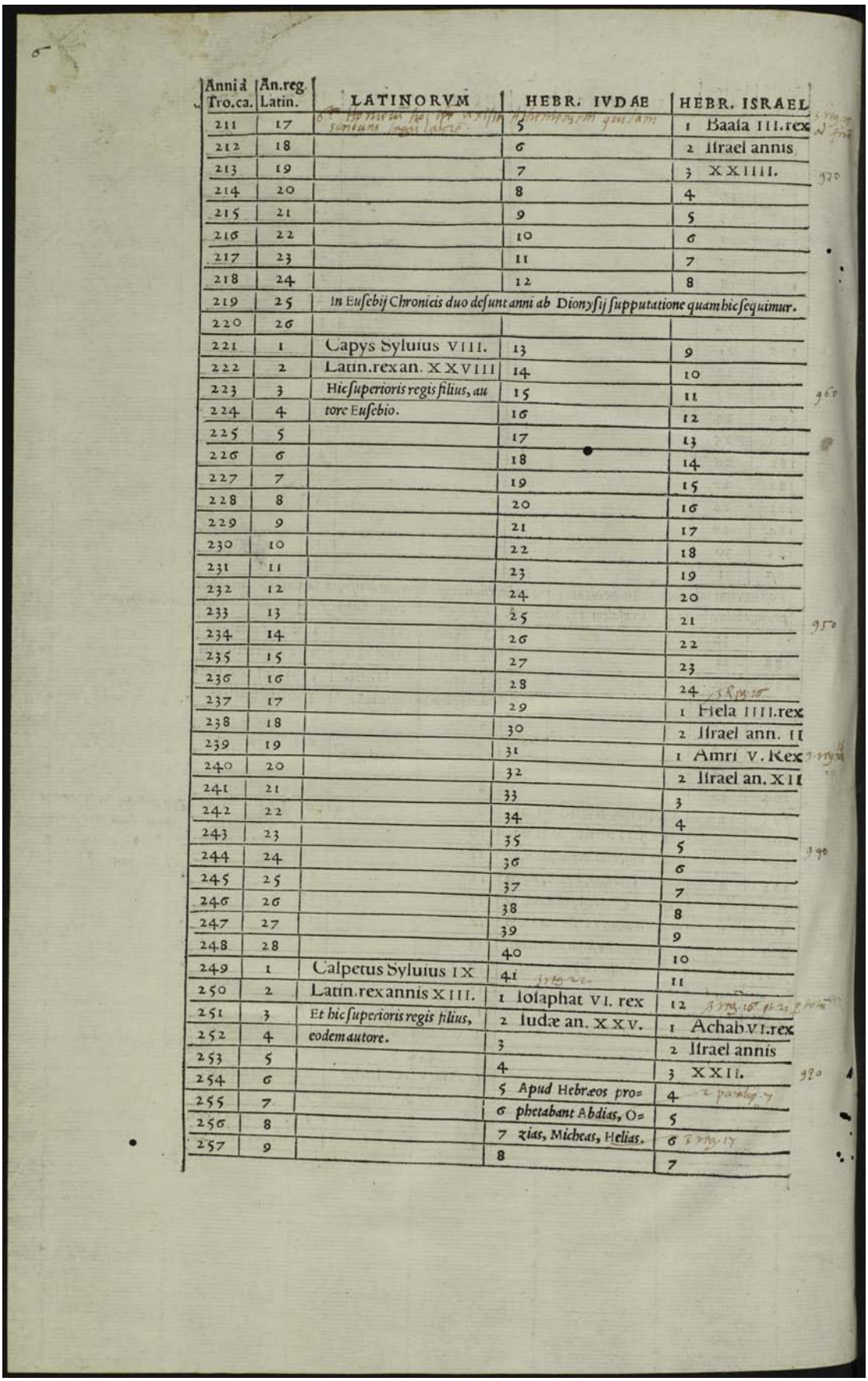
Anni à ſro.ca.	An. reg. Latin.	LATINORVM	HEBR. IVDÆ	HEBR. ISRAEL
166	11			20
167	12			21
168	13			22
169	14			23
170	15			24
171	16			25
172	17			26
173	18			27
174	19			28
175	20			29
176	21			30
177	22			31
178	23			32
179	24			33
180	25			34
181	26			35
182	27			36
183	28			37
184	29			38
185	30			39
186	31			40

Poſt mortem Solomonis ſeditione orta in gente Iud.æorũ, ac regno biſariam diuiſo, in Samaria X. tribubus præfuit Hieroboam, in Hieruſalem II. Roboam.

187	32		1 Roboam Hebrę	1 Hieroboam
188	33		2 rũ Iudæ rex III.	2 Hebræorum
189	34		3 annis XVII. Hic	3 Iſrael rex prí=
190	35		4 Solomonis fuit filius.	4 mus annis
191	36		5	5 XXII.
192	37		6	6
193	38		7	7
194	39		8	8
195	1	Capetus Syluius Lat.	9	9
196	2	rex VII. annis XXVI.	10	10
197	3	Hunc Euſebius Atyn uocat, ut	11	11
198	4	Liuius: Ouidius, Epitũ. Addit	12	12
199	5	Euſebius & Aegyptũ dictũ, ac	13	13
200	6	regnaſſe annis 24. ſed nos hoc lo	14	14
201	7	co Dionyſium ſequi maluimus.	15	15
202	8	Thraces Bithyniã occupant.	16	16
203	9		17	17
204	10		1 Abia IIII. rex Iu	18
205	11		2 dæ annis III.	19 Hebræorum pont.
206	12		3	20 max. Abimelech
207	13		1 Aſa V. rex Iudæ	21 clarus habetur.
208	14		2 annis XLI.	22
209	15		3	1 Nadab II. rex
210	16		4	2 Iſrael ann. II.

25 Vide hanc historiam plene 3. reg. 12 ubi utrorumque initia regnorum
34 De multis huius regis nominibus vide nomenclaturam Regum Albanorum in primum libr[um] annotationibus fol. 6. parte prima.[181]
42 3 Reg. 15
44 rex Gerare[182] Genesis 20
45 3 Reg. 15
47 3 Reg. 15

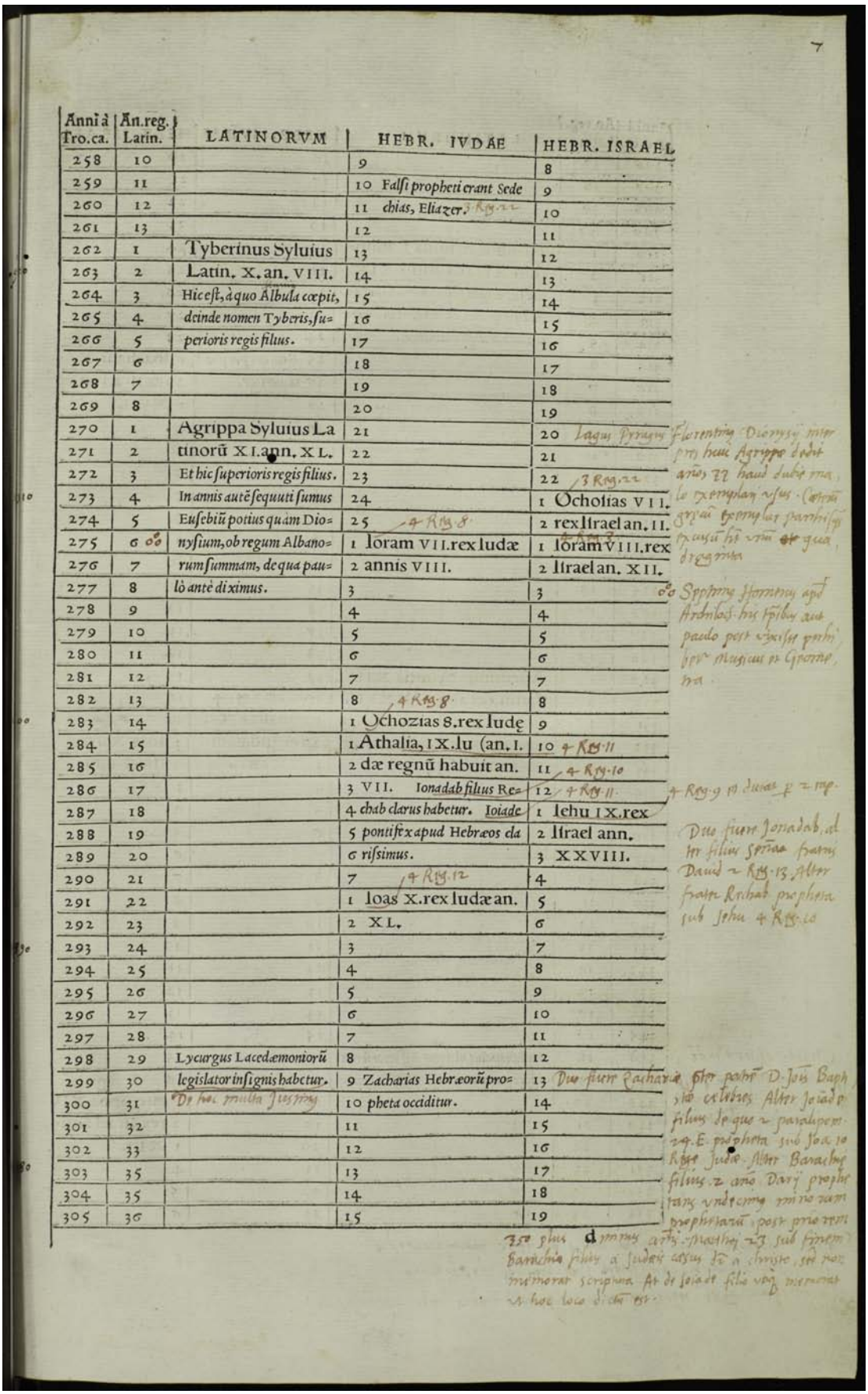
[181] Henricus Glareanus, *In omneis ... T. Livii Patavinii clarissimi historici decadas, annotationes, cum eiusdem Chronologia ...*, Basle, Michael Isengrin, 1540.
[182] Abimelech, cf. Gen. 20,2.



Anni à Tro.ca.	An.reg. Latin.	LATINORVM	HEBR. IVDAE	HEBR. ISRAEL
211	17		5	1 Baasa III.rex
212	18		6	2 Israel annis
213	19		7	3 XXIIII.
214	20		8	4
215	21		9	5
216	22		10	6
217	23		11	7
218	24		12	8
219	25	*In Eusebij Chronicis duo desunt anni ab Dionysij supputatione quam hic sequimur.*		
220	26			
221	1	Capys Syluius VIII.	13	9
222	2	Latin.rex an. XXVIII	14	10
223	3	*Hic superioris regis filius, au*	15	11
224	4	*tore Eusebio.*	16	12
225	5		17	13
226	6		18	14
227	7		19	15
228	8		20	16
229	9		21	17
230	10		22	18
231	11		23	19
232	12		24	20
233	13		25	21
234	14		26	22
235	15		27	23
236	16		28	24
237	17		29	1 Hela IIII.rex
238	18		30	2 Israel ann. II
239	19		31	1 Amri V. Rex
240	20		32	2 Israel an. XII
241	21		33	3
242	22		34	4
243	23		35	5
244	24		36	6
245	25		37	7
246	26		38	8
247	27		39	9
248	28		40	10
249	1	Calpetus Syluius IX	41	11
250	2	Latin.rex annis XIII.	1 Iosaphat VI. rex	12
251	3	*Et hic superioris regis filius,*	2 Iudæ an. XXV.	1 Achab VI.rex
252	4	*eodem autore.*	3	2 Israel annis
253	5		4	3 XXII.
254	6		5 *Apud Hebræos pro=*	4
255	7		6 *phetabant Abdias, O=*	5
256	8		7 *zias, Micheas, Helias.*	6
257	9		8	7

3 Sextum Homerum hoc tempore vixisse Atheniensem quidam scribunt legis latorem.[183]
3 3 Reg. 15 ad finem
28 3 Reg. 16
31 3 Reg. 16
41 3 Reg. 27
42 3 Reg. 16 et 21 per totum
46 2 Paralip. 7
48 3 Reg. 17

[183] Pseudo-Archilochus (n. 160), LXXXIII verso.



Anni à Tro.ca.	An.reg. Latin.	LATINORVM	HEBR. IVDAE	HEBR. ISRAEL
258	10		9	8
259	11		10 Falsi prophetі erant Sede	9
260	12		11 chias, Eliazer. 3 Reg. 22	10
261	13		12	11
262	1	Tyberinus Syluius	13	12
263	2	Latin. X. an. VIII.	14	13
264	3	Hic est, à quo Albula cœpit,	15	14
265	4	deinde nomen Tyberis, su=	16	15
266	5	perioris regis filius.	17	16
267	6		18	17
268	7		19	18
269	8		20	19
270	1	Agrippa Syluius La	21	20 Lagus Pyrgus
271	2	tinorũ XI. ann. XL.	22	21
272	3	Et hic superioris regis filius.	23	22 3 Reg. 22
273	4	In annis autẽ sequuti sumus	24	1 Ochosias VII.
274	5	Eusebiũ potius quàm Dio=	25 4 Reg. 8	2 rex Israel an. II.
275	6	nysium, ob regum Albano=	1 Ioram VII. rex Iudæ	1 Ioram VIII. rex
276	7	rum summam, de qua pau=	2 annis VIII.	2 Israel an. XII.
277	8	lò antè diximus.	3	3
278	9		4	4
279	10		5	5
280	11		6	6
281	12		7	7
282	13		8 4 Reg. 8	8
283	14		1 Ochozias 8. rex Iudę	9
284	15		1 Athalia, IX. Iu (an. I.	10 4 Reg. 11
285	16		2 dæ regnũ habuit an.	11 4 Reg. 10
286	17		3 VII. Ionadab filius Re=	12 4 Reg. 11
287	18		4 chab clarus habetur. Ioiade	1 Iehu IX. rex
288	19		5 pontifex apud Hebræos cla	2 Israel ann.
289	20		6 rissimus.	3 XXVIII.
290	21		7 4 Reg. 12	4
291	22		1 Ioas X. rex Iudæ an.	5
292	23		2 XL.	6
293	24		3	7
294	25		4	8
295	26		5	9
296	27		6	10
297	28		7	11
298	29	Lycurgus Lacedæmoniorũ	8	12
299	30	legislator insignis habetur.	9 Zacharias Hebræorũ pro=	13
300	31		10 pheta occiditur.	14
301	32		11	15
302	33		12	16
303	35		13	17
304	35		14	18
305	36		15	19

5 3 Reg. 22

15 Lagus Pyragus[184] Florentinus Dionysii interpres huic Agrippae dedit annos 33[185] haud dubie malo exemplari usus. Caeterum grecum exemplar Parrhisiis excusum habet unum et quadraginta. [greek number omitted, but added in the Paris copy: ἑν καὶ τεσσεράκοντα][186]

17 3 Reg. 22

19 4 Reg. 8

20 4 Reg. 3

22 Septimus Homerus apud Archilochum his temporibus aut paulo post vixisse perhibetur musicus et geometra.[187]

27 4 Reg. 8

29 4 Reg. 11

30 4 Reg. 10

31 4 Reg. 11

32 4 Reg. 9 et durat per 2 cap[ita]

33 Duo fuere Ionadab, alter filius Sennae fratris David 2 Reg. 13. Alter frater Rechab propheta sub Iehu 4 Reg. 20.

35 4 Reg. 12

44 Due fuere Zachariae praeter patrem D. Ioannis Baptistae celebres. Alter Ioiade filius de quo 2 paralipom. 24. E.[188] propheta sub Ioa 10 Rege Iudae. Alter Barachie filius. 2 anno Darii prophetans, undecimus minorum prophetarum, post priorem 350 plus minus annis. Matthei 23 sub finem, Barachie filius a Iudaeis caesus, dicitur a Christo,[189] sed non memorat scriptura. At de Ioiade filio ubique memorat, ut hoc loco dictum est.

45 De hoc multa Iustinus.[190]

---

184 Lapus Biragus (as in the Paris copy). See footnote 148.

185 The original note reads 22, lightly corrected to 33 as in the Paris copy.

186 It seems that Hummelberg was not able to read and write greek.

187 Pseudo-Archilochus (n. 160), LXXXIII verso.

188 Biblical reference to a printed Bible without counting of the verses but with indication of paragraphs (A, B, C, D …).

189 Mt. 23,35.

190 Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 3, 2, 4; 20, 4, 4; 29, 1, 6.

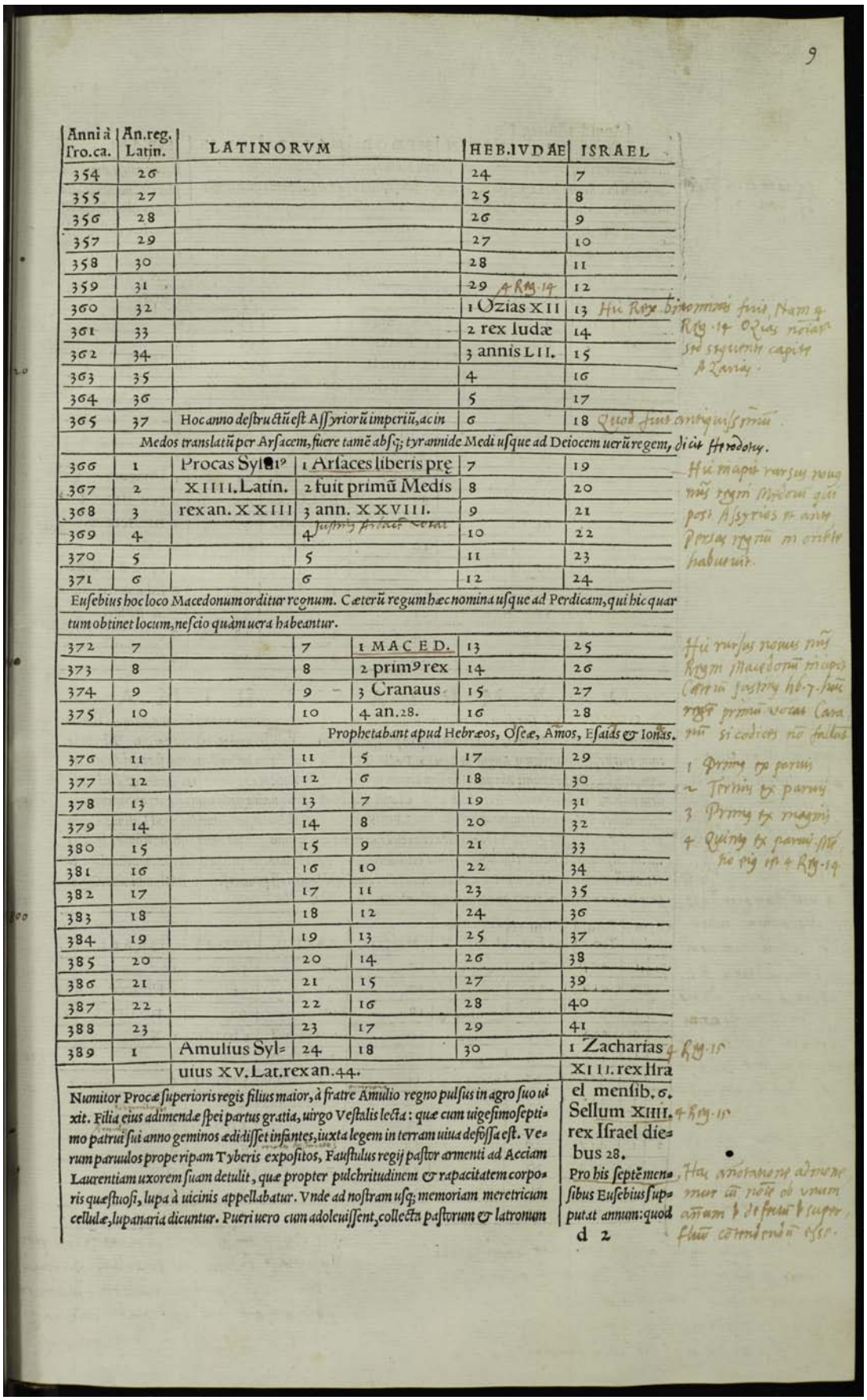
8

Annià Ante.ca.	An.reg. Latin.	LATINORVM	HEBR. IVDAE	HEBR. ISRAEL
306	37		16	20
307	38		17	21
308	39		18	22
309	40		19	23
310	1	Alladius Syluius Latino=	20	24
311	2	rum XII. rex annis XIX.	21	25
312	3	Hic superioris filius, uaria habet a=	22	26
313	4	pud scriptores nomina, ut in anno=	23	27
314	5	tationibus nostris diximus.	24 4 Reg. 13	28 4 Reg. 13
315	6		25 Heliseus prophe	1 Ioacham X.
316	7		26 ta moritur.	2 rex Israel an.
317	8		27	3 XVII.
318	9		28	4
319	10		29	5
320	11		30	6
321	12		31	7
322	13		32	8
323	14		33	9
324	15		34	10
325	16		35	11
326	17		36	12
327	18		37	13
328	19		38	14
329	1	Auentinus Syluius XIII.	39	15
330	2	Latin. rex ann. XXXVII.	40 4 Reg. 14	16
331	3	Superioris regis & hic fuit filius, in	1 Amasias X I.	17 4 Reg. 13
332	4	Auentino monte sepultus, unde &	2 rex Iudæ ann.	1 Ioas XI. rex
333	5	mons nomen habet.	3 XXIX.	2 Israel annis
334	6		4	3 XVI.
335	7		5	4
336	8		6	5
337	9		7	6
338	10		8	7
339	11		9	8
340	12		10	9
341	13		11	10
342	14		12	11
343	15		13	12
344	16		14	13
345	17		15	14
346	18	Sardanapalus ultimus Assyriorũ rex	16	15
347	19	hic regnare cœpit. Iustin. lib. 1.	17	16 4 Reg. 14
348	20		18	1 Hieroboã XII
349	21		19	2 rex Israel ann.
350	22		20	3 XLI.
351	23		21	4
352	24		22	5
353	25		23	6

Ctesias autor est de Sardanapali thesauris fuisse 10000000 hac ꝑ centies centenarium milia talentum Syrorum aureorum. Syra aut valerent ass 15 millenarium Atticorum centenarium. At auri Attica summa sit coronatos solarios 1575 quod si 10000000 centies centena milia per 1575 multiplicaueris erit summa coronatorum Sardanapali thesauri 1575000000. s. centies quinquagies septies millies et quingenties centena milia coronatorum.

11 4 Reg. 13
11 4 Reg. 13
27 4 Reg. 14
28 4 Reg. 13
43 Ctesias autor esse dicitur,[191] Sardanapali thesaurum fuisse 10'000'000, hoc est centies centenum milium talentum Syrorum aureorum. Syrum autem talentum est 15 minarum Atticarum centenariarum. At auri Attica mina habet coronatos solareis 1575, quod si 10'000'000 centies centena milia per 1575 multiplicaverimus, erit summa coronatorum Sardanapali thesaurus 15'750'000'000 i. [id est] centies quinquagies septies millies et quingenties centena milia coronatorum.
44 Iustinus lib. i.[192]
45 4 Reg. 14

[191] *FrGrHist* 688 F 1, from Athenaeus XII, 38.
[192] Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 1, 1.



9

Anni à Ifro.ca.	An.reg. Latin.	LATINORVM		HEB.IVDÆ	ISRAEL
354	26			24	7
355	27			25	8
356	28			26	9
357	29			27	10
358	30			28	11
359	31			29 4 Reg. 14	12
360	32			1 Ozias XII	13 Hic Rex bis mortis fuit, Nam 4. Reg. 14 Oziæ notatur sed sequentis capitis A Zariæ.
361	33			2 rex Iudæ	14
362	34			3 annis LII.	15
363	35			4	16
364	36			5	17
365	37	Hoc anno destructũ est Assyriorũ imperiũ, ac in		6	18 Quod fuit anno 13 Ninive primũ.
		Medos translatũ per Arsacem, fuere tamẽ abs eis tyrannide Medi usque ad Deiocem uerũ regem, di cit Herodotus.			
366	1	Procas Syl[illegible]	1 Arsaces liberis prę	7	19
367	2	XIIII. Latin.	2 fuit primũ Medis	8	20
368	3	rex an. XXIII	3 ann. XXVIII.	9	21
369	4		4 Justinus Arsaces Scytha	10	22
370	5		5	11	23
371	6		6	12	24
Eusebius hoc loco Macedonum orditur regnum. Cæterũ regum hæc nomina usque ad Perdicam, qui hic quar tum obtinet locum, nescio quàm uera habeantur.					
372	7		7	1 MACED.	13 25
373	8		8	2 primus rex	14 26
374	9		9	3 Cranaus	15 27
375	10		10	4 an. 28.	16 28
		Prophetabant apud Hebræos, Oseæ, Amos, Esaias & Ionas.			
376	11		11	5	17 29
377	12		12	6	18 30
378	13		13	7	19 31
379	14		14	8	20 32
380	15		15	9	21 33
381	16		16	10	22 34
382	17		17	11	23 35
383	18		18	12	24 36
384	19		19	13	25 37
385	20		20	14	26 38
386	21		21	15	27 39
387	22		22	16	28 40
388	23		23	17	29 41
389	1	Amulius Syl=	24	18	30 1 Zacharias 4 Reg. 15
		uius XV. Lat. rex an. 44.			XII. rex Isra el mensib. 6. Sellum XIIII. 4 Reg. 15 rex Israel die= bus 28.

Numitor Procæ superioris regis filius maior, à fratre Amulio regno pulsus in agro suo ui xit. Filia eius adimendæ spei partus gratia, uirgo Vestalis lecta: quæ cum uigesimo septi mo patrui sui anno geminos ædidisset infantes, iuxta legem in terram uiua defossa est. Ve rum paruulos prope ripam Tyberis expositos, Faustulus regij pastor armenti ad Acciam Laurentiam uxorem suam detulit, quæ propter pulchritudinem & rapacitatem corpo ris quæstuosi, lupa à uicinis appellabatur. Vnde ad nostram usq; memoriam meretricum cellulæ, lupanaria dicuntur. Pueri uero cum adoleuissent, collecta pastorum & latronum

Pro his septẽmen sibus Eusebius sup putat annum: quod

8 4 Reg. 14
9 Hic rex binominis fuit. Nam 4 Reg. 14 Ozias nominatur, sed sequente capite Azarias.
14 Quod fuit antiquissimum.
15 … dicit Herodotus[193]
16 Hic incipit rursus novus numerus regni Medorum, qui post Assyrios et ante Persas regnum in oriente habuerunt.
19 Iustinus[194] Arbacem vocat
24 Hic rursus novus numerus regni Macedonum[195] incipit. Caeterum Iustinus lib. 7[196] hunc regem primum vocat Caranum, si codices non fallunt.
29 1 Primus ex parvis
2 Tertius ex parvis
3 Primus ex magnis
4 Quintus ex parvis. Mentio eius est 4 Reg. 14
42 4 Reg. 15
45 4 Reg. 15
48 Hac annotatione admonemur cum nomine[197] ob unum annum vel defectum vel superfluum contendendum esse.

[193] Herodotus, I, 95–96.
[194] Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 1, 3.
[195] This is the third of the four world empires, according to the scheme laid out in the book of Daniel.
[196] Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 7, 1.
[197] Nemine (as in the Paris Copy).

	Anni à Tro.ca.	An.reg. Latin.	LATIN.	MEDOR.	MACED.	IVDAE	ISRAEL
manu, interfectoq; apud Albam Amulio, auum Numitorem in regnum restituunt. Hæc Eusebius in Chronicis. Legendum autem uicesimoseptimo patruì sui anno: quæ uerba in omnibus quæ nos uidimus exemplarib. corrupta erant, sed ex Dionysio restituimus.							hac de causa annotare placuit, ne nimis aliquãdo anxij simus, cũ uideamus magnos uiros non perpetuò ad amussim hæc obseruasse.
	390	2		25	19	31	1 Manahem
	391	3		26	20	32	2 XV. rex Israel
	392	4		27	21	33	3 annis X.
	393	5		28	22	34	4
	394	6		1 Medo=	23	35	5
	395	7		2 rum re=	24	36	6
	396	8		3 cundus	25	37	7
	397	9		4 Sosara	26	38	8
	398	10		5 musan	27	39	9
	399	11		6 nis 30.	28	40	10
	400	12		7	1 Maced.	41	1 Phaceia XVI.
	401	13		8	2 II. Cœ=	42	2 rex Israel an=
	402	14		9	3 nusan.	43	3 nis decem.
	403	15		10	4 XII.	44	4 Lib. 4. Reg. cap.
	404	16		11	5	45	5 15. biennio legitur,
	405	17		12	6	46	6 sed numeri similitu
	406	18		13	7	47	7 do fefellit.
	407	19		14	8	48	8
	408	20		15	9	49	9

OLYMPIAS PRIMA

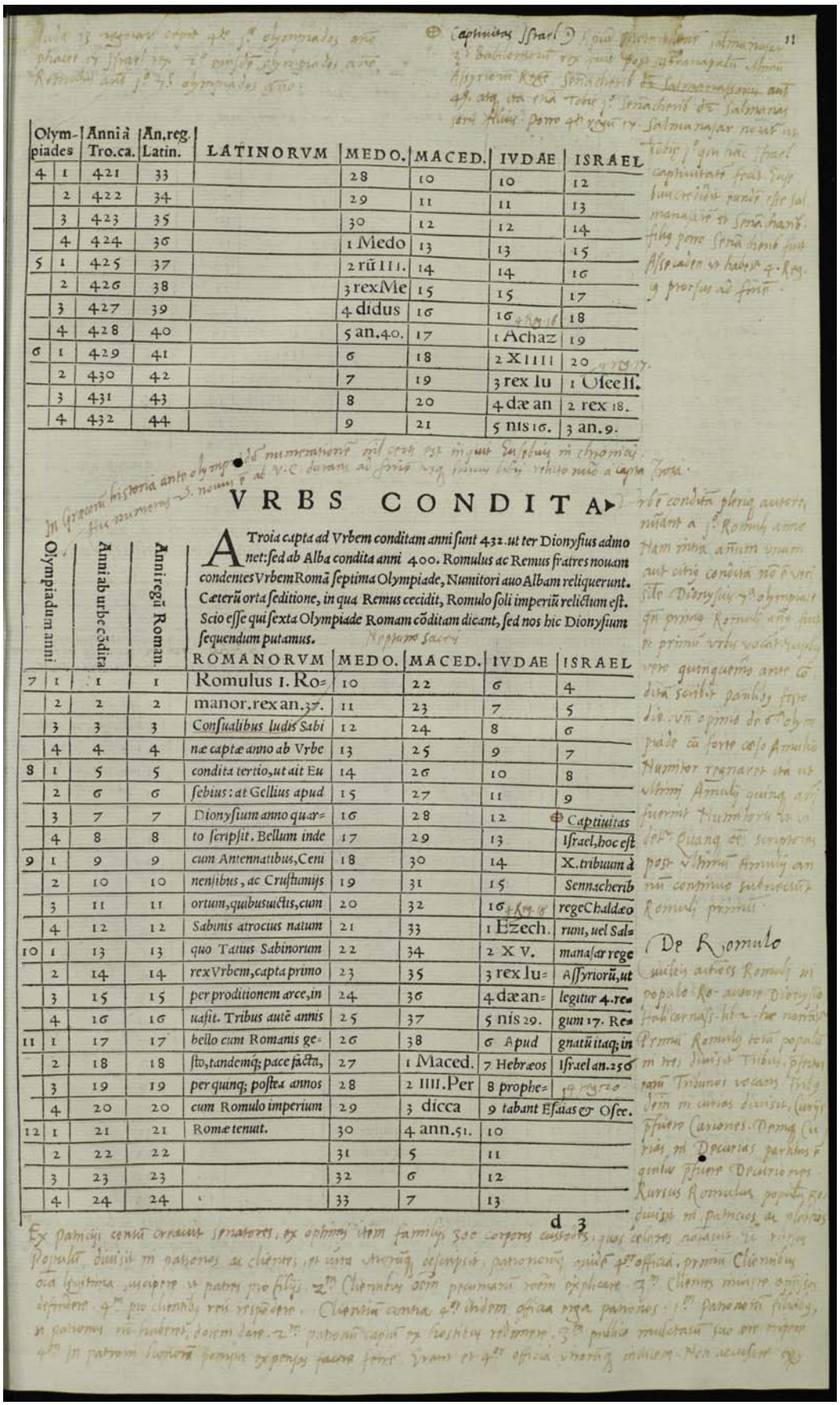
OLYMPIAS spacium est quatuor annorũ, quod puto apud Romanos uocari lustrum, ut apud Horatium libro quarto Carminum, Fortuna lustro prospera tertio Belli secundos reddidit exitus. Ab initio enim eius belli, quo primum Augustus cum Q. Pedio COS. fuit, ad finem bellorũ ciuilium fuerunt duodecim anni, atq; ita etiam exponit Acron. Non sum tamen nescius Porphyrionem exponere 15. annos: & illud eiusdem poëtæ, Cuius octauum trepidauit ætas Claudere lustrum. pro quadraginta annis omnes exponere commentatores. Sed alius erit de his disserendi locus. Fefellit autem quosdã hic loquendi modus apud Latinos: Quinto quoque anno agon gymnicus totius Græciæ celebrabatur. Item, quinto quoque anno lustrum Romæ condebatur: ut Olympiada spacium quinq; annorum crediderint, atque adeò etiam scriptis prodiderint, non intelligentes, annũ quo sequens Olympias incipit, quintum dici annũ, qui tamen est primus sequentis Olympiados. Quatuor itaque anni interiacent, exceptis his quibus luditur mensibus.

Olympiades		Anni à Tro.ca.	Anni re gũ Lat.	LATIN.	MEDO.	MACED.	IVDAE	ISRAEL
1	1	409	21		16	10	50	10
	2	410	22		17	11	51	1 Phacee XVII
	3	411	23		18	12	52	2 rex Israel ann.
	4	412	24		19	1 Maced.	1 Ioathã	3 XX.
2	1	413	25		20	2 III. rex	2 XIII.	4
	2	414	26		21	3 Tyrimas	3 rex Iu	5
	3	415	27		22	4 ann. 38.	4 dæan	6
	4	416	28		23	5	5 nis 16.	7
3	1	417	29		24	6	6	8
	2	418	30		25	7	7	9
	3	419	31		26	8	8	10
	4	420	32		27	9	9	11

4 In iam dictis Eusebii verbis[198]
10 4 Reg. 15
26 In omni temporum ac annorum ratione hoc difficultatis incidit, quod et initium et finis denominationis semper aliquid intertrimenti (ut ita loquamur) accipiunt. Quemadmodum exempli gratia Christus tertio die resurrexisse a mortuis dicitur, cum unum duntaxat diem et aliquot horis prioris diei ac unam item noctem ac dimidiam tantum in sepulchro iacuerit. Eodem modo secundus Christi natalis annus numeratur cum et inguit[199] incipit et finitur. Sic Olympias altera quinto quoque anno esse dicitur, cum sit spatium dumtaxat quatuor annorum. Tres autem tantum anni inter primi anni ac quinti denominationem intererant. Hec res effecit apud rusticos romanos, ut vulgo lustrum caperent pro quinque annorum spatio, videlicet, quia quinto quoque anno (si nihil impedimenti incidisset) lustrum fiebat cum quatuor dumtaxat esset annorum. Lycophron[is] interpres quingentesimo quoque mense olympica celebrari scripsit et quinto die ludis olympiacis finem imponunt.
39 4 Reg. 15
41 4 Reg. 15

At the bottom: Hic incipit rursus novus numerus et duplex, sed prior Olympiadum est, alter vero singularum Olympiadum annorum, qui sunt perpetuo quaterni. Autores enim graeci numerant etiam Olympiadum annos, cum quid gestum est, ut exempli gratia Ioatham rex

[198] Eusebius and Jerome, *Chronicle*, a. Abr. 1230.
[199] Scribal error, the word is superfluous. It does not appear in the Paris codex.



Olym-piades		Anni à Tro.ca.	An.reg. Latin.	LATINORVM	MEDO.	MACED.	IVDÆ	ISRAEL
4	1	421	33		28	10	10	12
	2	422	34		29	11	11	13
	3	423	35		30	12	12	14
	4	424	36		1 Medo	13	13	15
5	1	425	37		2 rũ III.	14	14	16
	2	426	38		3 rex Me	15	15	17
	3	427	39		4 didus	16	16	18
	4	428	40		5 an. 40.	17	1 Achaz	19
6	1	429	41		6	18	2 XIIII	20
	2	430	42		7	19	3 rex Iu	1 Oseæ II.
	3	431	43		8	20	4 dæ an	2 rex 18.
	4	432	44		9	21	5 nis 16.	3 an. 9.

VRBS CONDITA

Troia capta ad Vrbem conditam anni sunt 432. ut ter Dionysius admonet: sed ab Alba condita anni 400. Romulus ac Remus fratres nouam condentes Vrbem Romã septima Olympiade, Numitori auo Albam reliquerunt. Cæterũ orta seditione, in qua Remus cecidit, Romulo soli imperiũ relictum est. Scio esse qui sexta Olympiade Romam cõditam dicant, sed nos hic Dionysium sequendum putamus.

Olympiadum anni	Anni ab urbe cõdita	Anni regũ Roman.	ROMANORVM	MEDO.	MACED.	IVDAE	ISRAEL
7	1	1	1	Romulus I. Ro=	10	22	6	4
	2	2	2	manor. rex an. 37.	11	23	7	5
	3	3	3	Consualibus ludis Sabi	12	24	8	6
	4	4	4	næ captæ anno ab Vrbe	13	25	9	7
8	1	5	5	condita tertio, ut ait Eu	14	26	10	8
	2	6	6	sebius: at Gellius apud	15	27	11	9
	3	7	7	Dionysium anno quar=	16	28	12	Captiuitas
	4	8	8	to scripsit. Bellum inde	17	29	13	Israel, hoc est
9	1	9	9	cum Antennatibus, Ceni	18	30	14	X. tribuum à
	2	10	10	nensibus, ac Crustumijs	19	31	15	Sennacherib
	3	11	11	ortum, quibus uictis, cum	20	32	16	rege Chaldæo
	4	12	12	Sabinis atrocius natum	21	33	1 Ezech.	rum, uel Sal=
10	1	13	13	quo Tatius Sabinorum	22	34	2 X V.	manasar rege
	2	14	14	rex Vrbem, capta primo	23	35	3 rex Iu=	Assyriorũ, ut
	3	15	15	per proditionem arce, in	24	36	4 dæ an=	legitur 4. reg
	4	16	16	uasit. Tribus autẽ annis	25	37	5 nis 29.	gum 17. Re=
11	1	17	17	bello cum Romanis ge=	26	38	6 Apud	gnatũ itaq; in
	2	18	18	sto, tandemq; pace facta,	27	1 Maced.	7 Hebræos	Israel an. 256
	3	19	19	per quinq; postea annos	28	2 IIII. Per	8 prophe=	
	4	20	20	cum Romulo imperium	29	3 dicca	9 tabant Esaias & Osee.	
12	1	21	21	Romæ tenuit.	30	4 ann. 51.	10	
	2	22	22		31	5	11	
	3	23	23		32	6	12	
	4	24	24		33	7	13	

Iudae 13 regnare coepit, quarto primae olympiados anno. Phacee[200] 17 Israel rex secundo eiusdem Olympiados anno. Romulus autem primo septime Olympiados anno.

Top of the page, right, to "Captivitas Israel": Apud Metasthenem[201] Salamanasar tertius Babiloniorum rex fuit post Sardanapalum ultimum Assyriorum regem. Senacherib autem quartus atque ita etiam Tobie primo[202] Senacherib dicitur, Salmanassaris filius. Porro quarti regum 17[203] Salmanasar nominatur ut Tobie primo, qui hanc Israel captivitatem fecit. Eusebius credidit, eundem esse Salmanasarem et Sennacherib[em].[204] Filius porro Sennacherib fuit Asseraden, ut habetur 4. Reg. 19 prorsus ad finem.

9 4 Reg. 16
11 4 Reg. 17

To the first chronological column "Olympiadam anni":[205] In Graecorum historia ante Olympiadum numerationem nihil certi est, inquit Eusebius in chronicis.[206]

To the second chronological column "Anni ab urbe condita": Hic numerus secundus novus est ab V. C. [urbe condita] durans ad finem usque huius libri relicto numero a capta Troia.

To the third chronological column (only in the Paris codex): Et hic tertius similiter numerus et regum Albanorum [et] Romanorum. Quia Albani defecerunt.

15 Urbem conditam plerique autores numerant a primo Romuli anno. Nam intra annum unum aut citius conditam non est verisimile. Dionysius septima Olympiade, quin primus Romuli annus fuit, et primum urbis vocat. Eusebius vero quinquennio ante conditam scribit parilibus festo die.[207] Unde opinio de sexta olympiade, cum forte caeso Amulio Numitor regnaret, ita ut ultimi Amulii quinque anni fuerint Numitoris ut videtur. Quanquam omnes scriptores post ultimum Amulii annum continuo subnectunt Romuli primum.

21 Neptuno Sacris
33 4 Reg. 18
34 De Romulo: Civileis[208] actiones Romuli in populo Ro[mano] autore Dionysio Halicarnass[io] lib[ro] 2 hae narrantur. Primum Romulus totum populum in tres divisit tribus, prefectos earum Tribunos vocans. Tribus deinde in curias divisit, curiis prefuere Curiones. Denique curias in decurias partitus est, quibus prefuere Decuriones.[209] Rursus Romulus populum Ro[manum] divisit in patricios et plebeios.[210] Ex patriciis centum creavit senatores, ex optimis item familiis 300 corporis custodes, quos celeres nominavit.[211] Et rursus populum divisit in patronos ac clientes et iura utrorumque descripsit, patronorumque quidem quatuor officia: Primum: clientibus omnia legitima suscipere ut patres pro filiis. Secundum: clientibus omnem pecuniarum rationem explicare. Tertium: clientes iniuste oppressos defendere. Quartum: pro clientibus reis respondere. Clientium contra quatuor itidem officia erga patronos. Primum: patronorum filiabus, si patronus non haberet, dotem dare. Secundum: patronum captum ex hostibus redimere. Tertium: publice mulctatum suo aere eripere. Quartum: in patroni honorem pompa expensas facere[212] ferre. Erant et quatuor utrorumque invicem. Non accusare,

42 4 Reg. 20

---

[200] Phaceae.

[201] Megasthenes was a genuine Greek ethnographer and historian of India and Persia. Metasthenes is a text on Persian history forged by Annius of Viterbo, who deliberately deformed the real name. For the passage in question, see Nanni, *Antiquitatum variarum volumina xvii* (n. 159), fol. LXXXV verso.

[202] Tobit 1,2.

[203] 2. Kön. 17.

[204] Eusebius and Jerome, *Chronicle*, a. Abr.1270.

[205] Not in the Paris copy.

[206] Modern research has confirmed the opinion of Eusebius. The ancient Greeks had no reliable chronological dates for history before 700 BC. Walter Burkert, "Lydia between East and West or How to Date the Trojan War: A Study on Herodotus", in: Walter Burkert, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. I, edited by Christoph Riedweg et al., Hypomnemata Supplement-Reihe, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2001), pp. 218–232.

[207] Eusebius and Jerome, *Chronicle*, a. Abr. 1262.

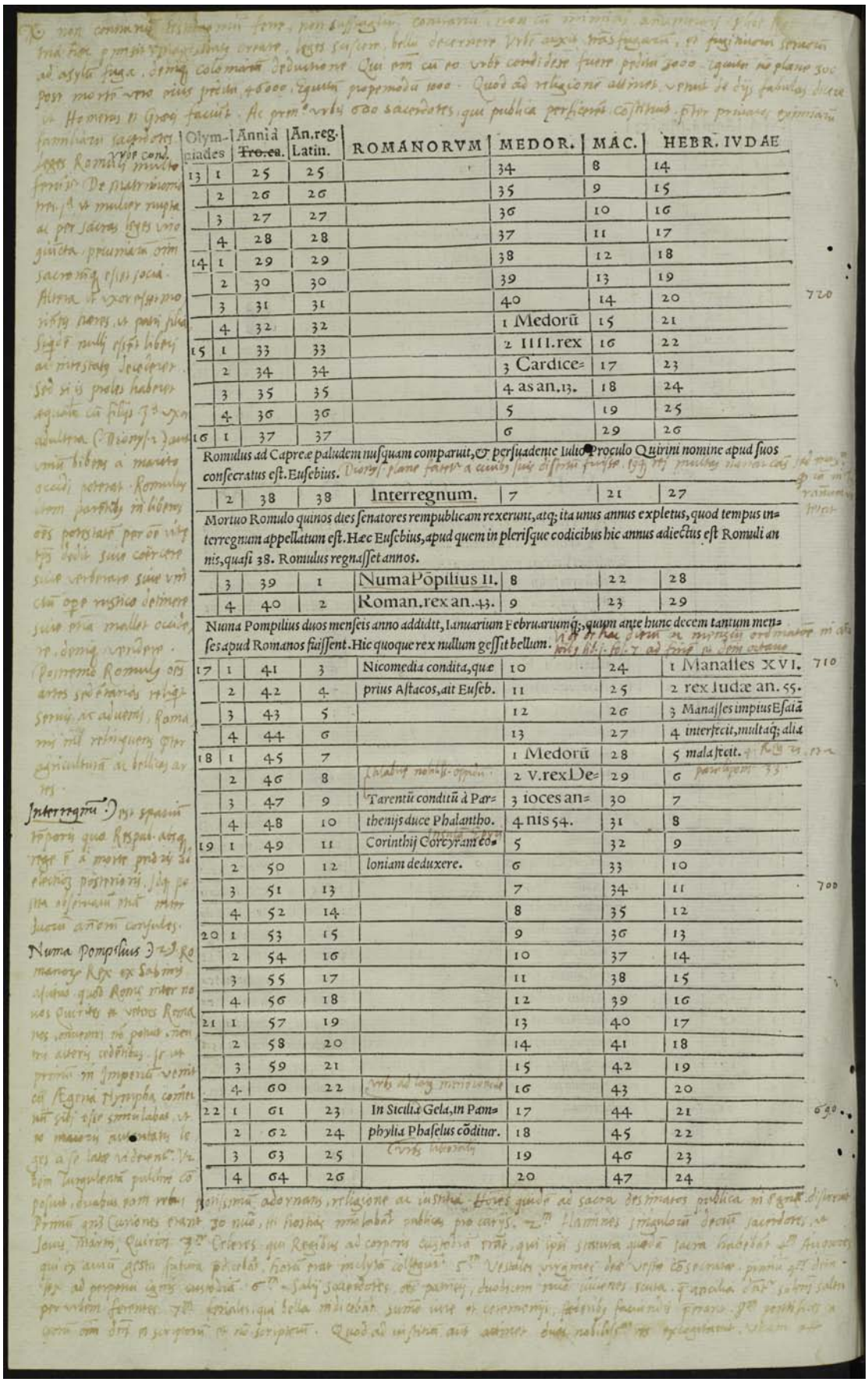
[208] Civiles (as in the Paris Copy).

[209] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 7, 2–4.

[210] *Idem*, II, 8, 1.

[211] *Idem*, II, 13, 1–2.

[212] Scribal error: "facere" is superfluous, and does not appear in the Paris codex.



Olym-piades		Annià Troiæa.	An.reg. Latin.	ROMANORVM	MEDOR.	MAC.	HEBR. IVDAE
13	1	25	25		34	8	14
	2	26	26		35	9	15
	3	27	27		36	10	16
	4	28	28		37	11	17
14	1	29	29		38	12	18
	2	30	30		39	13	19
	3	31	31		40	14	20
	4	32	32		1 Medorū	15	21
15	1	33	33		2 IIII.rex	16	22
	2	34	34		3 Cardice=	17	23
	3	35	35		4 as an.13.	18	24
	4	36	36		5	19	25
16	1	37	37		6	29	26
				Romulus ad Capreæ paludem nusquam comparuit, & persuadente Iulio Proculo Quirini nomine apud suos consecratus est. Eusebius.			
	2	38	38	Interregnum.	7	21	27
				Mortuo Romulo quinos dies senatores rempublicam rexerunt, atq; ita unus annus expletus, quod tempus interregnum appellatum est. Hæc Eusebius, apud quem in plerisque codicibus hic annus adiectus est Romuli annis, quasi 38. Romulus regnasset annos.			
	3	39	1	Numa Pōpilius II.	8	22	28
	4	40	2	Roman.rex an.43.	9	23	29
				Numa Pompilius duos menseis anno addidit, Ianuarium Februariumq;, quum ante hunc decem tantum menses apud Romanos fuissent. Hic quoque rex nullum gessit bellum.			
17	1	41	3	Nicomedia condita, quæ	10	24	1 Manasses XVI.
	2	42	4	prius Astacos, ait Euseb.	11	25	2 rex Iudæ an. 55.
	3	43	5		12	26	3 Manasses impius Esaiā
	4	44	6		13	27	4 interfecit, multaq; alia
18	1	45	7		1 Medorū	28	5 mala fecit.
	2	46	8		2 V.rex De=	29	6
	3	47	9	Tarentū conditū à Par=	3 loces an=	30	7
	4	48	10	thenijs duce Phalantho.	4 nis 54.	31	8
19	1	49	11	Corinthij Coreyram co=	5	32	9
	2	50	12	loniam deduxere.	6	33	10
	3	51	13		7	34	11
	4	52	14		8	35	12
20	1	53	15		9	36	13
	2	54	16		10	37	14
	3	55	17		11	38	15
	4	56	18		12	39	16
21	1	57	19		13	40	17
	2	58	20		14	41	18
	3	59	21		15	42	19
	4	60	22		16	43	20
22	1	61	23	In Sicilia Gela, in Pam=	17	44	21
	2	62	24	phylia Phaselus cōditur.	18	45	22
	3	63	25		19	46	23
	4	64	26		20	47	24

non contrarium testimonium ferre, non suffragium contrarium, non cum inimicis annumerari.[213] Plebi Ro[mulus] tria haec promisit: magistratus creare, leges sciscere, bellum decernere.[214] Urbem auxit transfugarum et fugitivorum servorum ad asylum fuga, denique coloniarum deductione. Qui enim cum eo urbem condidere, fuere peditum 3000, equitum non plane 300, post mortem vero eius peditum 46000, equitum propemodum 1000.[215] Quod ad religionem attinet, vetuit de diis fabulas dicere ut Homerus et Graeci faciunt.[216] Ac prin[cipi]o urbis 600 sacerdotes, qui publica perficerent, constituit, praeter privatos eximiarum familiarum sacerdotes.[217] Leges Romuli multe feruntur. De matrimonio tres: Prima, ut mulier nupta ac per sacras leges viro coniuncta, pecuniarum omnium sacrorumque esset socia. Altera, ut uxor esset morientis [mariti[218]] haeres, ut patri filia, siquidem nulli essent liberi ac intestatus decederet. Sed si is proles haberet, aequaliter cum filiis. Tertia: uxor adultera (Dionys. 2) aut vinum bibens a marito occidi poterat.[219] Romulus item parentibus in liberos omnem potestatem per omne vite tempus dedit, sive coercere, sive verberare, sive vinctum opere rustico detinere, sive etiam mallet occidere, denique vendere.[220] Postremo Romulus omnes artes sedentarias reliquit servis ac advenis, Romanis nihil relinquens praeter agriculturam ac bellicas artes.[221]

17 Dionysius plane fatetur a civibus suis desertum fuisse eiusque rei multas narrat causas, sed maximam quod iam in Tyrannum verterat.[222]

25 Vide de hac dierum et mensium ordinatione in annotationibus lib. 1, fol. 7 ad finem et deinde octavo

30 4. Reg 21, et 2 Paralipom. 33

31 Calabrie nobilissimum oppidum

32 Interregnum est spatium temporis quo respub[lica] absque rege est a morte prioris ad electionem posterioris. Idque postea observatum etiam inter duorum annorum consules.

34 Insulam Epyri

39 Numa Pompilius. Secundus Romanorum rex ex Sabinis ascitus, quod Rome inter novos quirites et veteres Romanos conveniri non potuit, neutris alteris cedentibus. Is ut primum in imperium venit cum Aegeria Nympha commertium sibi esse simulabat, ut eo maioris autoritatis leges a se latae viderentur.[223] Urbem Turgulentam[224] pulchre composuit duabus eam rebus potissimum adornans, religione ac iustitia. Homines quidem ad sacra destinatos publica in 8 genera discrevit. Primum genus curiones erant 30 numero, hi hostias immolabant publicas pro curiis. Secundum flamines singulorum deorum sacerdotes ut Iovis, Martis, Quirini. Tertium celeres, qui regibus ad corporis custodiam erant, qui ipsi statuta quedam sacra habebant. Quartum augures, qui ex animalium gestu futuram praedicebant, horum erat inclytum collegium. Quintum vestales virgines deae Vestae consecratae. Primum quatuor deinde sex ad perpetui ignis custodiam. Sextum salii sacerdotes, omnes patricii, duodecim numero iuvenes scuta, quae ancilia dicuntur, solenni[225] saltu per urbem ferentes. Septimum fetiales, qui bella indicebant, summo iure et ceremoniis foederibus faciundis praeerant. Octavum pontifices sacrorum omnium, domini et scriptorum et non scriptorum.[226] Quod ad iustitiam autem attinet, duas nobilissimas res excogitavit. Unam, (continuation on p. 13)

---

[213] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 10, 1–3.

[214] *Idem*, II, 14, 3.

[215] *Idem*, II, 16, 1–2.

[216] *Idem*, II, 18, 3.

[217] *Idem*, II, 21, 2. Not 600, but 60 priests.

[218] As in the Paris Copy.

[219] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 25, 2–6. Glareanus found the sentence "Mulier adultera vel vinum bibens a marito occidi poterat" as a printed marginal note on p. 70 of his own copy of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Treviso 1480), which is preserved in the Universitätsbibliothek München (call number: 2 Inc. lat. 1231). He marked and underlined it.

[220] *Idem*, II, 26, 1–4.

[221] *Idem*, II, 28, 1–2.

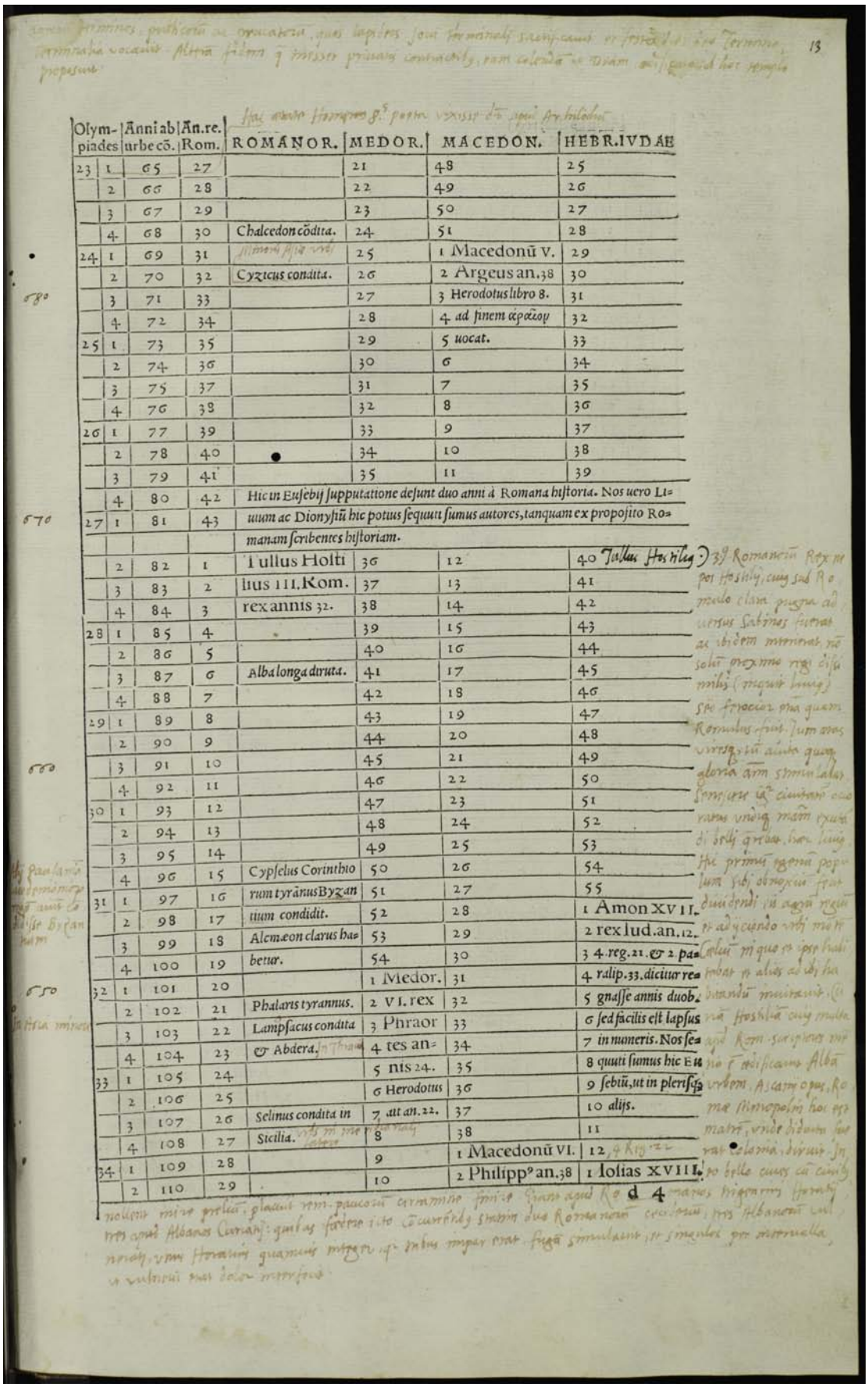
[222] *Idem*, II, 56, 1–4.

[223] Livy, *Roman History*, I, 19, 5; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 60, 4–II, 61, 3. Glareanus here closely follows Livy in holding that Numa pretended to meet the nymph. Dionysius by contrast offers a variety of opinions: some speak of a nymph, others of a Muse and others, like Livy, of a deliberate deception. Dionysius makes clear that he does not want to go into more detail: "But, as I am sensible that to give a particular account of the legendary histories, and especially of those relating to gods, would require a long discussion, I shall omit doing so, and shall relate instead the benefits which the Romans seem to me to have received from this man's rule, according to the information I have derived from their own histories." (Dionysius of Halicarnassos, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 61, 3, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 319, p. 489). Glareanus—like Machiavelli—accepts Livy's simple, cynical view—perhaps a sign of Renaissance empiricism?

[224] Turpulentem (as in the Paris Copy).

[225] Sollemni.

[226] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 64, 1–II, 73, 4. Cf. Livy, *Roman History*, I, 20. Dionysius is more thorough than Livy.



Olym-piades		Anni ab urbe cõ.	An. re. Rom.	ROMANOR.	MEDOR.	MACEDON.	HEBR. IVDAE
23	1	65	27		21	48	25
	2	66	28		22	49	26
	3	67	29		23	50	27
	4	68	30	Chalcedon cõdita.	24	51	28
24	1	69	31		25	1 Macedonũ V.	29
	2	70	32	Cyzicus condita.	26	2 Argeus an. 38	30
680	3	71	33		27	3 Herodotus libro 8.	31
	4	72	34		28	4 ad finem ἀφράτου	32
25	1	73	35		29	5 uocat.	33
	2	74	36		30	6	34
	3	75	37		31	7	35
	4	76	38		32	8	36
26	1	77	39		33	9	37
	2	78	40		34	10	38
	3	79	41		35	11	39
	4	80	42	Hic in Eusebij supputatione desunt duo anni à Romana historia. Nos uero Li=			
670	27	1	81	43	uium ac Dionysiũ hic potius sequuti sumus autores, tanquam ex proposito Ro=		
					manam scribentes historiam.		
	2	82	1	Tullus Hosti	36	12	40 Tullus Hostilius
	3	83	2	lius III. Rom.	37	13	41
	4	84	3	rex annis 32.	38	14	42
28	1	85	4		39	15	43
	2	86	5		40	16	44
	3	87	6	Alba longa diruta.	41	17	45
	4	88	7		42	18	46
29	1	89	8		43	19	47
	2	90	9		44	20	48
660	3	91	10		45	21	49
	4	92	11		46	22	50
30	1	93	12		47	23	51
	2	94	13		48	24	52
	3	95	14		49	25	53
	4	96	15	Cypselus Corinthio	50	26	54
31	1	97	16	rum tyrannus Byzan	51	27	55
	2	98	17	tium condidit.	52	28	1 Amon XVII.
	3	99	18	Alcmæon clarus ha=	53	29	2 rex Iud. an. 12.
	4	100	19	betur.	54	30	3 4. reg. 21. & 2 pa=
650	32	1	101	20		1 Medor.	31
	2	102	21	Phalaris tyrannus.	2 VI. rex	32	5 gnasse annis duob.
	3	103	22	Lampsacus condita	3 Phraor	33	6 sed facilis est lapsus
	4	104	23	& Abdera.	4 tes an=	34	7 in numeris. Nos se=
33	1	105	24		5 nis 24.	35	8 quum sumus hic Eu
	2	106	25		6 Herodotus	36	9 sebiũ, ut in pleriſq;
	3	107	26	Selinus condita in	7 ait an. 22.	37	10 aliis.
	4	108	27	Sicilia.	8	38	11
34	1	109	28		9	1 Macedonũ VI.	12, 4 Reg. 22
	2	110	29		10	2 Philippꝰ an. 38	1 Iosias XVIII.

agrorum terminos publicorum aut privatorum, quos lapideos Iovi Terminali sacrificavit et festos dies deo Termino Terminalia vocavit. Alteram, fidem, quam inesset privatis contractibus, eam colendam ut deam aedificato ad hoc templo proposuit.[227]

1 Hac aetate Homerus octavus poeta vixisse dicitur apud Archilochum.[228]

7 Minoris Asiae urbs

21 Tullus Hostilius: 3us [tertius] Romanorum rex, nepos Hostilii, cuius sub Romulo clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat ac ibidem interierat, non solum proximo regi dissimilis (inquit Livius), sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Tum[229] aetas viresque, tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem ocio ratus undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat, haec Livius.[230] Hic primum egenum populum sibi obnoxium fecit, dividendi[231] eis agrum regium et adiiciendo urbi montem Caelium, in quo et ipse habitabat et alios ad ibi habitandum invitavit.[232] Curiam Hostiliam,[233] cuius multa apud Rom[anos] scriptores mentio est, aedificavit. Albam urbem, Ascanii opus, Romae Metropolin hoc est matrem, unde diducta[234] fuerat colonia, diruit. In eo bello cives cum civibus nollent inire prelium, placuit rem paucorum certamine finire. Erant apud Romanos trigemini Horatii, tres apud Albanos Curiatii, quibus, foedere icto, concurrentibus statim duo Romanorum ceciderunt, tres Albanorum vulnerati. Unus Horatius quamvis integer, quia tribus impar erat, fugam simulavit, et singulos per intervalla, ut vulnerum erat dolor, interfecit.[235]

35 Alii Pausaniam Lacedemoniorum regem aiunt condidisse Byzantium[236]

42 In Asia minore

43 In Thracia

47 urbs in meridionali latere

48 4. Reg 22

[227] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 74, 1–II, 75, 2.

[228] Pseudo-Archilochus (n. 160), LXXXIII verso.

[229] Cum (as in Livy and in the Paris copy).

[230] Livy, *Roman History*, I, 22, 1–2.

[231] Read dividendo (as in the Paris codex).

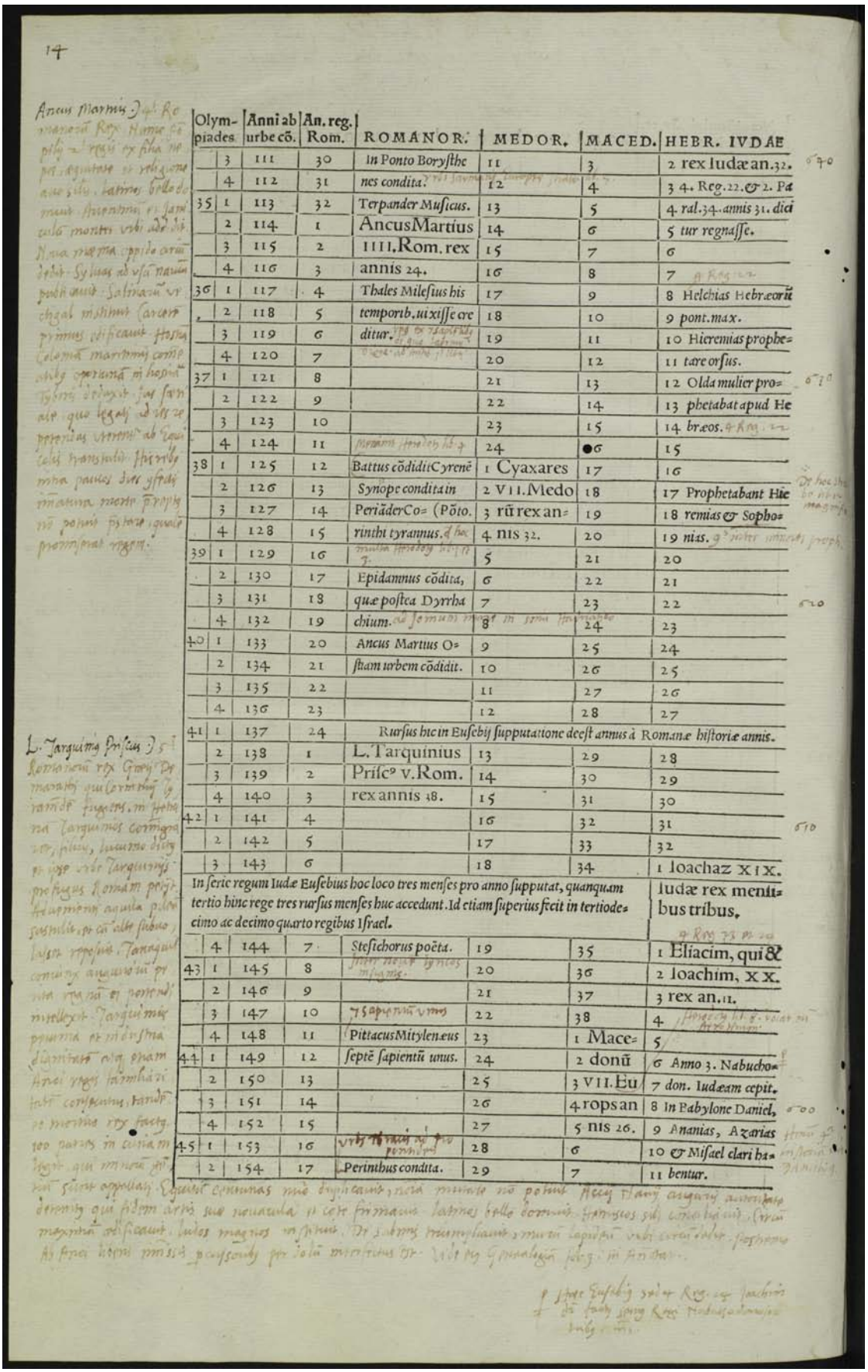
[232] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, III, 1, 4–5.

[233] Livy, *Roman History*, I, 30, 2. The Curia Hostilia is the oldest Senate House of Rome.

[234] Deducta (as in the Paris Copy).

[235] Livy, *Roman History*, I,23 f.

[236] Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 9, 1.



Olympiades		Anni ab urbe cõ.	An. reg. Rom.	ROMANOR.	MEDOR.	MACED.	HEBR. IVDAE
	3	111	30	In Ponto Boryſthe	11	3	2 rex Iudæ an. 32.
	4	112	31	nes condita.	12	4	3 4. Reg. 22. & 2. Pa
35	1	113	32	Terpander Muſicus.	13	5	4. ral. 34. annis 31. dici
	2	114	1	Ancus Martius	14	6	5 tur regnaſſe.
	3	115	2	IIII. Rom. rex	15	7	6
	4	116	3	annis 24.	16	8	7
36	1	117	4	Thales Mileſius his	17	9	8 Helchias Hebræorũ
	2	118	5	temporib. uixiſſe cre	18	10	9 pont. max.
	3	119	6	ditur.	19	11	10 Hieremias prophe=
	4	120	7		20	12	11 tare orſus.
37	1	121	8		21	13	12 Olda mulier pro=
	2	122	9		22	14	13 phetabat apud He
	3	123	10		23	15	14 bræos.
	4	124	11		24	16	15
38	1	125	12	Battus cõdidit Cyrenẽ	1 Cyaxares	17	16
	2	126	13	Synope condita in	2 VII. Medo	18	17 Prophetabant Hie
	3	127	14	Periãder Co= (Põto.	3 rũ rex an=	19	18 remias & Sopho=
	4	128	15	rinthi tyrannus.	4 nis 32.	20	19 nias.
39	1	129	16		5	21	20
	2	130	17	Epidamnus cõdita,	6	22	21
	3	131	18	quæ poſtea Dyrrha	7	23	22
	4	132	19	chium.	8	24	23
40	1	133	20	Ancus Martius O=	9	25	24
	2	134	21	ſtiam urbem cõdidit.	10	26	25
	3	135	22		11	27	26
	4	136	23		12	28	27
41	1	137	24	Rurſus hic in Euſebij ſupputatione deeſt annus à Romanæ hiſtoriæ annis.			
	2	138	1	L. Tarquinius	13	29	28
	3	139	2	Priſcꝰ V. Rom.	14	30	29
	4	140	3	rex annis 38.	15	31	30
42	1	141	4		16	32	31
	2	142	5		17	33	32
	3	143	6		18	34	1 Ioachaz XIX.
				In ſeric regum Iudæ Euſebius hoc loco tres menſes pro anno ſupputat, quanquam tertio hinc rege tres rurſus menſes huc accedunt. Id etiam ſuperius fecit in tertiodecimo ac decimo quarto regibus Iſrael.			Iudæ rex menſi= bus tribus.
	4	144	7	Steſichorus poẽta.	19	35	1 Eliacim, qui &
43	1	145	8		20	36	2 Ioachim, XX.
	2	146	9		21	37	3 rex an. 11.
	3	147	10		22	38	4
	4	148	11	Pittacus Mitylenæus	23	1 Mace=	5
44	1	149	12	ſeptẽ ſapientũ unus.	24	2 donũ	6 Anno 3. Nabucho=
	2	150	13		25	3 VII. Eu	7 don. Iudæam cepit.
	3	151	14		26	4 ropsan	8 In Babylone Daniel,
	4	152	15		27	5 nis 26.	9 Ananias, Azarias
45	1	153	16		28	6	10 & Miſael clari ha=
	2	154	17	Perinthus condita.	29	7	11 bentur.

1 Ancus Martius: 4us[237] Romanorum Rex. Nume Pompilii secundi ex filia nepos, aequitate et religione avo similis, latinos bello domuit. Aventinum et Ianiculum montes urbi addidit. Nova moenia oppido circumdedit.[238] Sylvas ad usum navium publicavit. Salinarum vectigal instituit. Carcerem primus[239] edificavit. Hostiam[240] coloniam maritimis commeatibus oportunam[241] in hostia[242] Tiberis deduxit. Ius faetiale, quo legati ad res repetendas uterentur, ab Equicolis transtulit.[243] His rebus intra paucos dies confectis immatura morte praereptus non potuit praestare, qualem promiserat regem.

4 urbs Sarmatie Europee[244] Strabo lib. 7.[245]

8 4. Reg 22

11 Unus ex 7 sapientibus de quo Laertius Diogе-[nes] ab initio primi libri[246]

15 4. Reg 22

16 Meminit Herodotus lib. 4.[247]

18 De hoc Strabo lib. 12 magnifice[248]

20 de hoc multa Herodotus lib. 1 et 3.[249]

20 Nonus inter minores proph.

24 ad Ionium mare in sinu Hadriatico

30 L. Tarquinius Priscus:[250] 5us[251] Romanorum rex Graeci Demarathi, qui Corinthii Tyrannidem fugiens in Hetruriam Tarquinios commigraret,[252] filius, Lucumo dictus et ipse urbe Tarquiniis profugus Romam petiit. Advenienti aquila pileum sustulit, et cum alte subvolasset reposuit. Tanaquil coniunx[253] auguriorum perita regnum ei ponendi intellexit. Tarquinius pecunia et industria dignitatem atque etiam Anci regis familiaritatem consecutus,[254] tandem eo mortuo rex factus. 100 patres in curiam legit, qui minorum gentium sunt appellati. Equitum centurias numero duplicavit, nomina mutare non potuit, Accii Navii[255] auguris autoritate deterritus, qui fidem artis suae novacula et cote firmavit.[256] Latinos bello domuit, Hetruscos sibi conciliavit, circum maximum aedificavit, ludos magnos instituit.[257] De Sabinis triumphavit, murum lapideum urbi circumdedit. Postremo ab Anci liberis immissis percussoribus per dolum interfectus est. Vide eius genealogiam fol. 9. in Annotationibus.

38 4. Reg 23 et 24

40 Inter novem lyricos insignis.

42 7 sapientium unus

42 Herodotus lib. 8 vocat eum Aeropeum.[258]

45 Horum quatuor historiam vide Danielis 3.

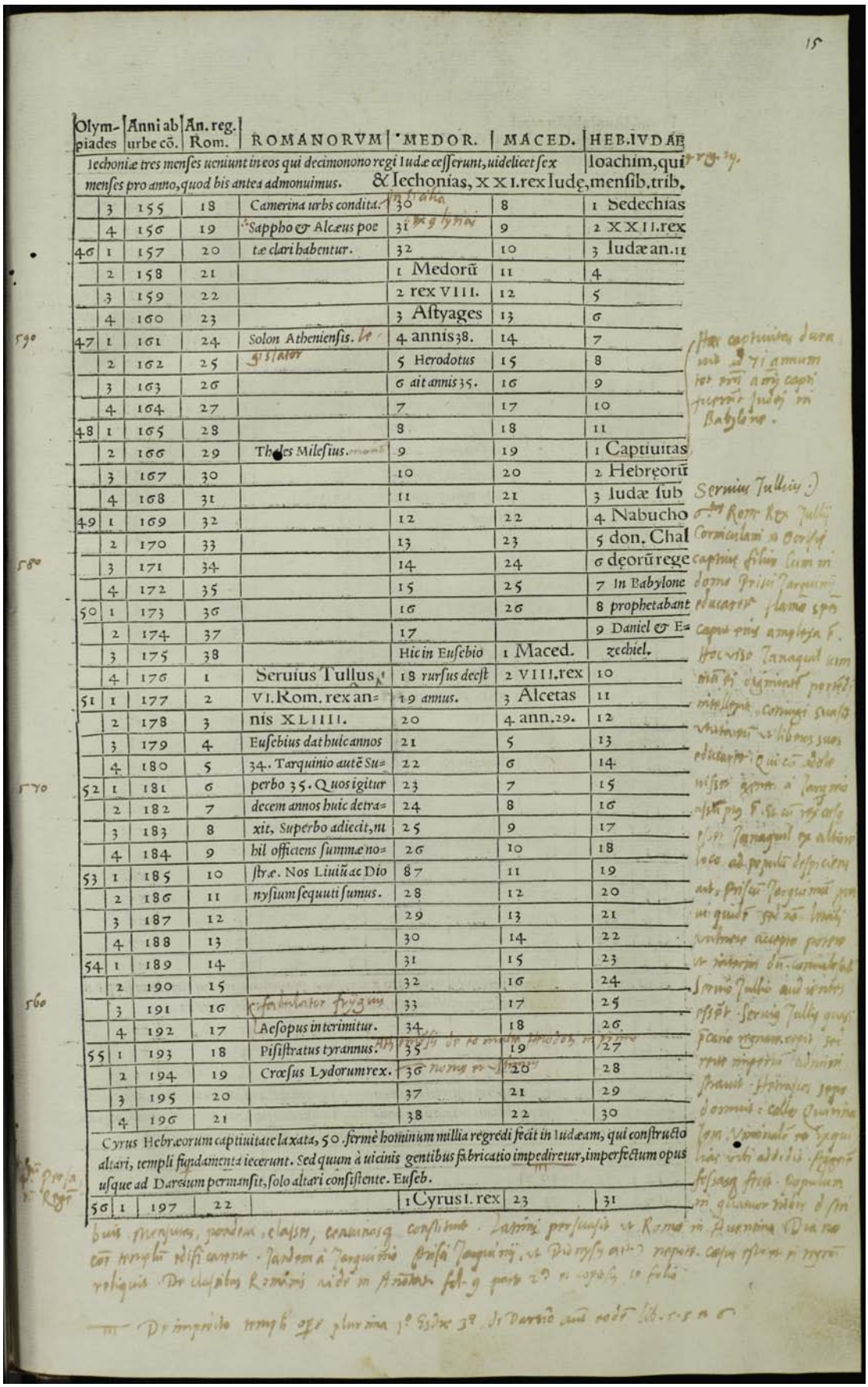
46 urbs Thracis ad Propontiden[259]

At the end of the page:

Haec Eusebius,[260] sed 4 Reg. Ioachin dicitur factus servus Regi Nabuchodonoser tribus annis.

---

237 Quartus.
238 This phrase for example is not in the Paris Copy.
239 Primum (the same mistake in the Paris Copy).
240 Ostiam.
241 Opportunam (as in the Paris Copy).
242 Ostia.
243 Livy, *Roman History*, I, 32, 5.
244 Sarmatia Europaea.
245 Strabo VII, 3, 17.
246 Diogenes Laertius, *De vita philosophorum*, I, 22–39.
247 Herodotus IV, 156.
248 Strabo XII, 3, 11.
249 Herodotus I, 20, 23–24; III, 48–53.
250 Cf. Livy, *Roman History*, I, 34, 1–I, 40, 7.
251 Quintus.
252 Commigraverat (as in the Paris Copy).
253 Coniux (as in the Paris Copy).
254 Dionysius of Halicarnassos, *Roman Antiquities*, III, 46, 2–III, 49, 1.
255 Attii Navii, cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassos, *Roman Antiquities*, III, 70, 1.
256 Dionysius of Halicarnassos, *Roman Antiquities*, III, 71, 1–5.
257 *Idem*, III, 68, 1–3.
258 Herodotus VIII, 137.
259 Propontidem. Propontis = Sea of Marmara.
260 Eusebius and Jerome, *Chronicle*, a. Abr. 1407.



Olym-piades	Anni ab urbe cõ.	An. reg. Rom.	ROMANORVM	MEDOR.	MACED.	HEB. IVDÆ
Iechoniæ tres menſes ueniunt in eos qui decimonono regi Iudæ ceſſerunt, uidelicet ſex menſes pro anno, quod bis antea admonuimus.				& Iechonias, XXI. rex Iudę, menſib. trib.		
	3	155	18	Camerina urbs condita.	30	8	1 Sedechias
	4	156	19	Sappho & Alcæus poe	31	9	2 XXII. rex
46	1	157	20	tæ clari habentur.	32	10	3 Iudæ an. 11
	2	158	21		1 Medorũ	11	4
	3	159	22		2 rex VIII.	12	5
	4	160	23		3 Aſtyages	13	6
47	1	161	24	Solon Athenienſis.	4. annis 38.	14	7
	2	162	25		5 Herodotus	15	8
	3	163	26		6 ait annis 35.	16	9
	4	164	27		7	17	10
48	1	165	28		8	18	11
	2	166	29	Thales Mileſius.	9	19	1 Captiuitas
	3	167	30		10	20	2 Hebręorũ
	4	168	31		11	21	3 Iudæ ſub
49	1	169	32		12	22	4 Nabucho
	2	170	33		13	23	5 don. Chal
	3	171	34		14	24	6 dęorũ rege
	4	172	35		15	25	7 In Babylone
50	1	173	36		16	26	8 prophetabant
	2	174	37		17		9 Daniel & E=
	3	175	38		Hic in Euſebio	1 Maced.	zechiel.
	4	176	1	Seruius Tullus,	18 rurſus deeſt	2 VIII. rex	10
51	1	177	2	VI. Rom. rex an=	19 annus.	3 Alcetas	11
	2	178	3	nis XLIIII.	20	4. ann. 29.	12
	3	179	4	Euſebius dat huic annos	21	5	13
	4	180	5	34. Tarquinio autẽ Su=	22	6	14.
52	1	181	6	perbo 35. Quos igitur	23	7	15
	2	182	7	decem annos huic detra=	24	8	16
	3	183	8	xit, Superbo adiecit, nu	25	9	17
	4	184	9	hil officiens ſummæ no=	26	10	18
53	1	185	10	ſtræ. Nos Liuiũ ac Dio	87	11	19
	2	186	11	nyſium ſequuti ſumus.	28	12	20
	3	187	12		29	13	21
	4	188	13		30	14	22
54	1	189	14		31	15	23
	2	190	15		32	16	24
	3	191	16		33	17	25
	4	192	17	Aeſopus interimitur.	34	18	26
55	1	193	18	Piſiſtratus tyrannus.	35	19	27
	2	194	19	Crœſus Lydorum rex.	36	20	28
	3	195	20		37	21	29
	4	196	21		38	22	30
Cyrus Hebræorum captiuitate laxata, 50. fermè hominum millia regrędi fecit in Iudæam, qui conſtructo altari, templi fundamenta iecerunt. Sed quum à uicinis gentibus fabricatio impediretur, imperfectum opus uſque ad Darei um permanſit, ſolo altari conſiſtente. Euſeb.							
56	1	197	22		1 Cyrus I. rex	23	31

3 4 reg. 29
5 In Sicilia
6 ex 9 lyricis
11 legislator
16 moritur
16 Haec captivitas duravit ad 71 annum. Tot enim annis capti fuerant Iudei in Babylone.
18 Servius Tullius: 6tus[261] Rom[anorum] Rex Tullii Corniculari et Ocrisie captive filius. Cum in domo Prisci Tarquinii educaretur, flammae species caput eius amplexa est. Hoc viso Tanaquil summam ei dignitatem portendi intellexit. Coniugi suasit, ut ita eum ut liberos suos educaret. Qui cum adolevisset gener a Tarquinio assumptus est. Et cum rex caesus esset, Tanaquil ex altiore loco ad populum despiciens ait, Priscum Tarquinium, gravi quidem, sed non letali vulnere accepto potere,[262] ut interim, dum convalescit, Servio Tullio audientes essent. Servius Tullius quasi precario regnare cepit, sed recte imperium administravit. Hetruscos sepe domuit: colles Quirinalem, Viminalem et Exquilias urbi addidit. Aggerem fossasque fecit. Populum in quatuor tribus distribuit. Mensuras, pondera, classes, centuriasque constituit. Latinis persuasit, ut Rome in Aventino Dianae comune templum edificarent. Tandem a Tarquinio, Prisci Tarquinii, ut Dionysius ait,[263] nepote, caesus est et ei regnum reliquit. De classibus romanis vide in Annotat. fol. 9 parte 2°[264] et copiosius 10 folio.
41 fabulator frygius
43 Atheniensis de eo multa Herodotus in primo[265]
44 Nonus et ultimus
49 quartum Persarum Regem

At the bottom of the page: De impedito templi opere plurima I°[266] Esdrae 3°.[267] De Dareio autem eodem lib. c. 5 et 6.

[261] Sextus.
[262] Petere (as in the Paris Copy).
[263] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, IV, 39, 3.
[264] Secundo.
[265] Herodotus I, 59–64.
[266] Primo.
[267] Tertio.

Olym-piades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.	An. reg. Rom.	ROMANORVM	PERSAR.	MACEDO.	HEB. capt.	
	2	198	23		2 Perſarum	24	32	
	3	199	24		3 an. XXX.	25	33	
	4	200	25		4 Hic Cyrus,	26	34	
57	1	201	26		5 Medorũ de=	27	35	550
	2	202	27		6 ſtruxit impe	28	36	
	3	203	28		7 rium.	29	37	Prophetæ
	4	204	29		8	1 Macedo=	38	bant Ag=
58	1	205	30		9	2 num IX.	39	gæus &
	2	206	31		10	3 Amyntas	40	Zacha=
	3	207	32		11	4 annis L.	41	rias.
	4	208	33		12	5	42	
59	1	209	34	Crœſus à Cyro captus	13	6	43	
	2	210	35	eſt, & Lydorũ regnum	14	7	44	
	3	211	36	deſtructum.	15	8	45	590
	4	212	37		16	9	46	
60	1	213	38	Theognis poëta agno=	17	10	47	
	2	214	39	ſatur.	18	11	48	
	3	215	40		19	12	49	
	4	216	41		20	13	50	
61	1	217	42		21	14	51	
	2	218	43		22	15	52	
	3	219	44		23	16	53	
	4	220	1	L. Tarquinius Su	24	17	54	
62	1	221	2	perbus VII. aculti	25	18	55	570
	2	222	3	mus Roman. rex,	26	19	56	
	3	223	4	annis XXV.	27	20	57	
	4	224	5		28	21	58	
63	1	225	6	Tomyris Maſſagetarum	29	22	59	
	2	226	7	regina Cyrum interfecit.	30	23	60	
	3	227	8		1 Cambyſes	24	61	
	4	228	9		2 II. Perſar.	25	62	
64	1	229	10		3 rex annis	26	63	
	2	230	11		4 VIII.	27	64	
	3	231	12		5	28	65	520
	4	232	13		6	29	66	
65	1	233	14		7	30	67	
	2	234	15		8	31	68	

Tertio apud Perſas regnarunt per ſeptem menſes duo fratres Magi, pro quibus menſibus Herodotus ſupputat annum. Herodotus autem ad impletionem octaui anni, Cambyſæ ait hos ſeptem fuiſſe menſes.

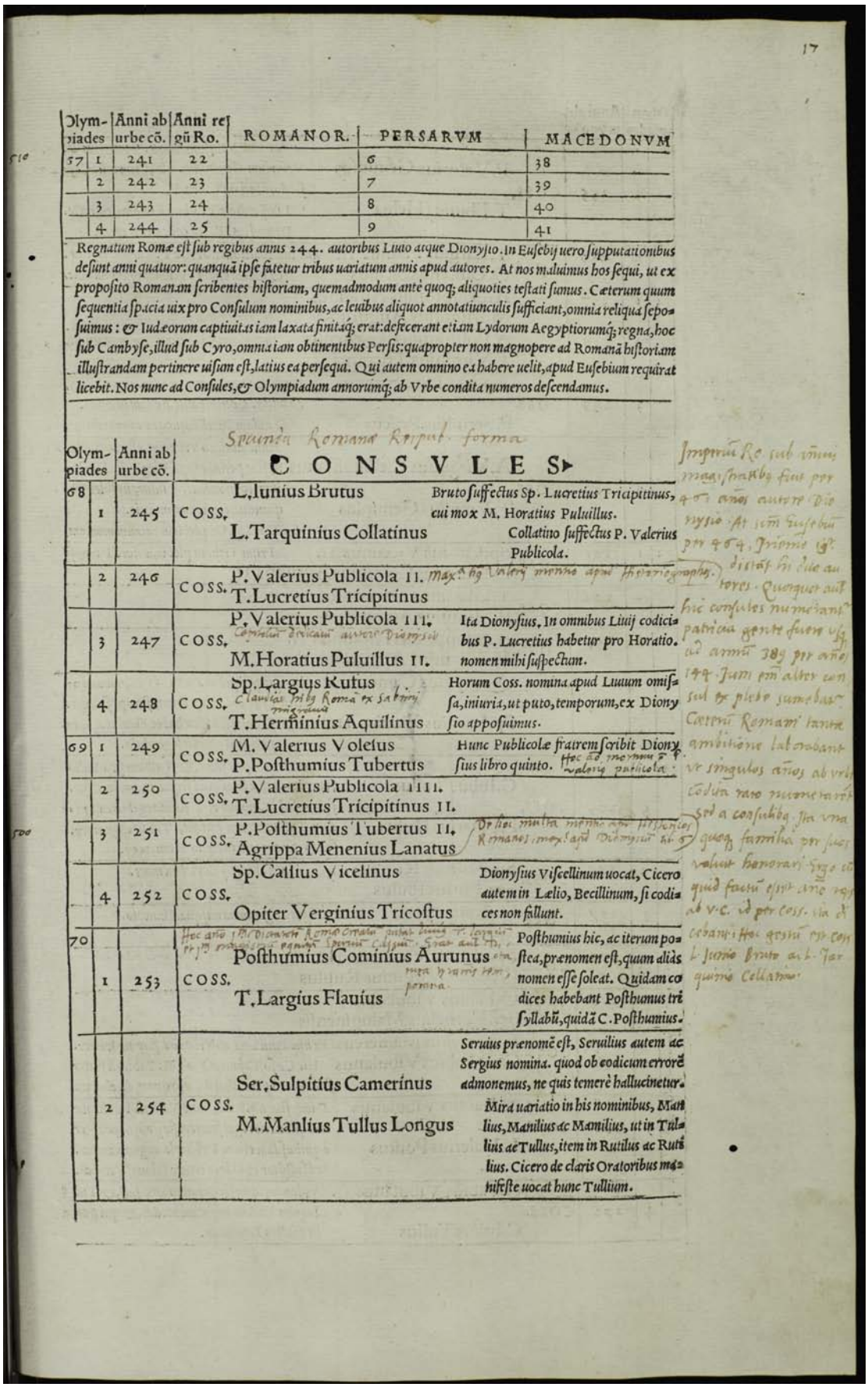
	3	235	16		1 Magi.	32	69	
	4	236	17		1 Darius an	33	70	
66	1	237	18		2 nis 36.	34	71	

Secundo anno Darei regis templũ in Hieroſolymis extruitur ab Zorobabel, conſummaturq; opus anno quadrageſimo. Remiſsio quidem captiuitatis Iudæorũ, & ueniæ templi ædificandi ſub Cyro exordiũ habuit. Conſummatur uero templum ſub Dario, quia uicinæ gentes aſsiduis incurſibus ædificationem impediebant.

	2	238	19		3	35		
	3	239	20		4	36		
	4	240	21		5	37		

9 decimus minorum prophetarum
11 undecimus minorum phrophetarum
13 Herodotus lib. 1 eam historiam habet[268]
17 meminit Suidas[269]
25 L[ucius] Tarquinius Superbus: 7us[270] et ultimus Romanorum rex, cognomen moribus meruit. Occiso Servio Tullio, regnum sceleste occupavit, tamen bello strenuus latinos sabinosque domuit. Suessam Pometiam Volscis eripuit. Gabios per Sextum filium simulato transfugio in potestatem redegit. Et ferias latinas primas instituit, fores[271] in circo, et cloacam maximam fecit, ubi totius populi viribus usus est, unde illae fossae Quiritium sunt dictae. Cum capitolium inciperet, caput hominis invenit, unde cognitum est, eam urbem caput gentium futuram. Et cum in obsidione Ardie[272] filius eius Sextus nomine Lucretie lucrum[273] intulisset, cum eo in exilium actus Aporsenam[274] Hetrurie regem confugit, cuius ope regnum retinere tentavit. Pulsus Cumas concessit, ubi per summam ignominiam reliquum vitae tempus exegit.
29 Describit Herodotus in primo ad finem[275]
35 parricida et sacrilegus, qui Nabuchodonosor dicitur.[276]
44 Templi 2a[277] edificatio
44 1. Esdre 5

[268] Herodotus I, 85–91.
[269] Suda, s.v. Theognis.
[270] Septimus.
[271] Foros (as in the Paris Copy).
[272] Ardeae.
[273] Stuprum (as in the Paris Copy).
[274] Ad Porsennam.
[275] Herodotus I, 212–214.
[276] The identification of Cambyses with Nabuchodonosor may derive from Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. See Henrike Lähnemann, *Hystoria Judith. Deutsche Judithdichtungen vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Scrinium Friburgense 20 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2006), p. 64 f.
[277] Secunda.



17

Olym-piades		Anni ab urbe cõ.	Anni regũ Ro.	ROMANOR.	PERSARVM	MACEDONVM
57	1	241	22		6	38
	2	242	23		7	39
	3	243	24		8	40
	4	244	25		9	41

Regnatum Romæ est sub regibus annis 244. autoribus Liuio atque Dionysio. In Eusebij uero supputationibus desunt anni quatuor: quanquã ipse fatetur tribus uariatum annis apud autores. At nos maluimus hos sequi, ut ex proposito Romanam scribentes historiam, quemadmodum antè quoq; aliquoties testati sumus. Cæterum quum sequentia spacia uix pro Consulum nominibus, ac leuibus aliquot annotatiunculis sufficiant, omnia reliqua sepo-suimus: & Iudæorum captiuitas iam laxata finitaq; erat: defecerant etiam Lydorum Aegyptiorumq; regna, hoc sub Cambyse, illud sub Cyro, omnia iam obtinentibus Persis: quapropter non magnopere ad Romanã historiam illustrandam pertinere uisum est, latius ea persequi. Qui autem omnino ea habere uelit, apud Eusebium requirat licebit. Nos nunc ad Consules, & Olympiadum annorumq; ab Vrbe condita numeros descendamus.

Speuma Romana Reiput forma

Olym-piades		Anni ab urbe cõ.	CONSVLES	
68	1	245	COSS. L. Iunius Brutus L. Tarquinius Collatinus	Bruto suffectus Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, cui mox M. Horatius Puluillus. Collatino suffectus P. Valerius Publicola.
	2	246	COSS. P. Valerius Publicola II. T. Lucretius Tricipitinus	
	3	247	COSS. P. Valerius Publicola III. M. Horatius Puluillus II.	Ita Dionysius. In omnibus Liuij codicibus P. Lucretius habetur pro Horatio. nomen mihi suspectum.
	4	248	COSS. Sp. Largius Rufus T. Herminius Aquilinus	Horum Coss. nomina apud Liuium omissa, iniuria, ut puto, temporum, ex Dionysio apposuimus.
69	1	249	COSS. M. Valerius Volesus P. Posthumius Tubertus	Hunc Publicolæ fratrem scribit Dionysius libro quinto.
	2	250	COSS. P. Valerius Publicola IIII. T. Lucretius Tricipitinus II.	
	3	251	COSS. P. Posthumius Tubertus II. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus	
	4	252	COSS. Sp. Cassius Vicelinus Opiter Verginius Tricostus	Dionysius Viscellinum uocat, Cicero autem in Lælio, Becillinum, si codices non fallunt.
70	1	253	COSS. Posthumius Cominius Aurunus T. Largius Flauius	Posthumius hic, ac iterum postea, prænomen est, quam aliàs nomen esse soleat. Quidam codices habebant Posthumus trẽ syllabũ, quidã C. Posthumius.
	2	254	COSS. Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus M. Manlius Tullus Longus	Seruius prænomẽ est, Seruilius autem ac Sergius nomina. quod ob codicum errorẽ admonemus, ne quis temerè hallucinetur. Mira uariatio in his nominibus, Manlius, Manilius ac Mamilius, ut in Tullius ac Tullus, item in Rutilus ac Rutilius. Cicero de claris Oratoribus manifeste uocat hunc Tullium.

Before line 15: Secunda romanae Reipub[licae] forma

15 Imperium romanum sub annuis magistratibus fuit per 461 annos autore Dionysio. At secundum Eusebium 464. Triennio igitur distant hi duo autores. Quotquot autem hic consules numerantur patricia gente fuere usque ad annum 389 per annos 144. Tum enim alter consul ex plebe sumebatur. Caeterum Romani tanta ambitione laborabant, ut singulos annos ab urbe condita raro numerarent, sed a consulibus. Ita una quaeque familia per suos voluit honorari. Ergo cum quid factum esset anno 245 ab v. c.[278] id per consules ita dicebant: Hoc gestum est consulibus L. Iunio Bruto et L. Tarquinio Collatino.

21 Maxima huius Valerii mentio apud Historiographos.

24 Capitolium dedicatum autore Dionysio[279]

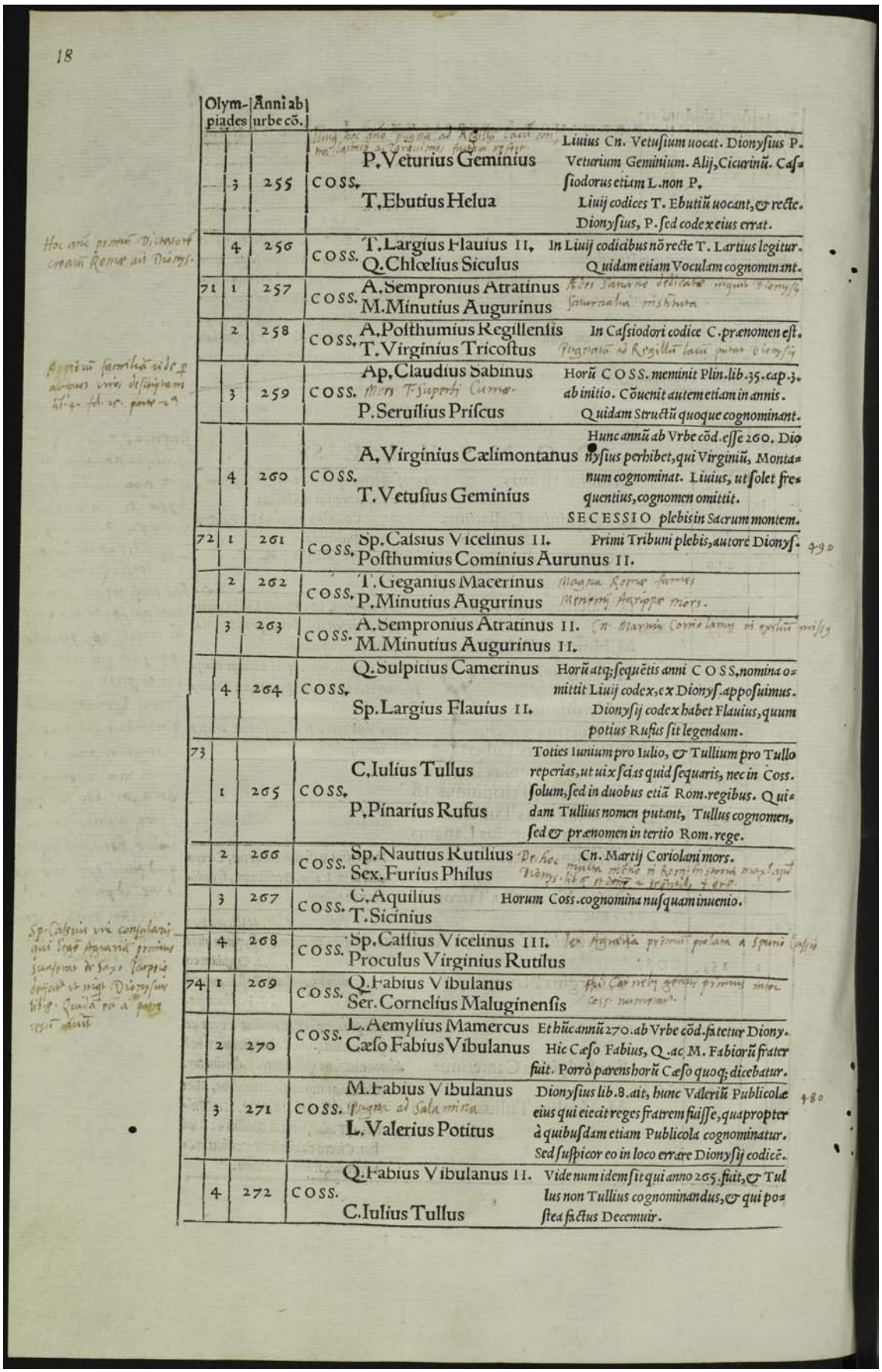
27 Claudia tribus Romam ex Sabinis migravit.

30 Hoc anno mortuus est P. Valerius Publicola.

33 De hoc multa mentio apud historicos romanos: maxime apud Dionysium lib. 6[280]

38 Hoc anno primum dictatorem Rome creatum putat Livius T. Largium et primum magistratum equitum Spurium Cassium. Erat autem dictatura tyrannis temporaria.[281]

[278] V. C. means "urbe condita".
[279] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, V, 35.
[280] *Idem*, VI, 44–47.
[281] Livy, *Roman History*, II, 18.

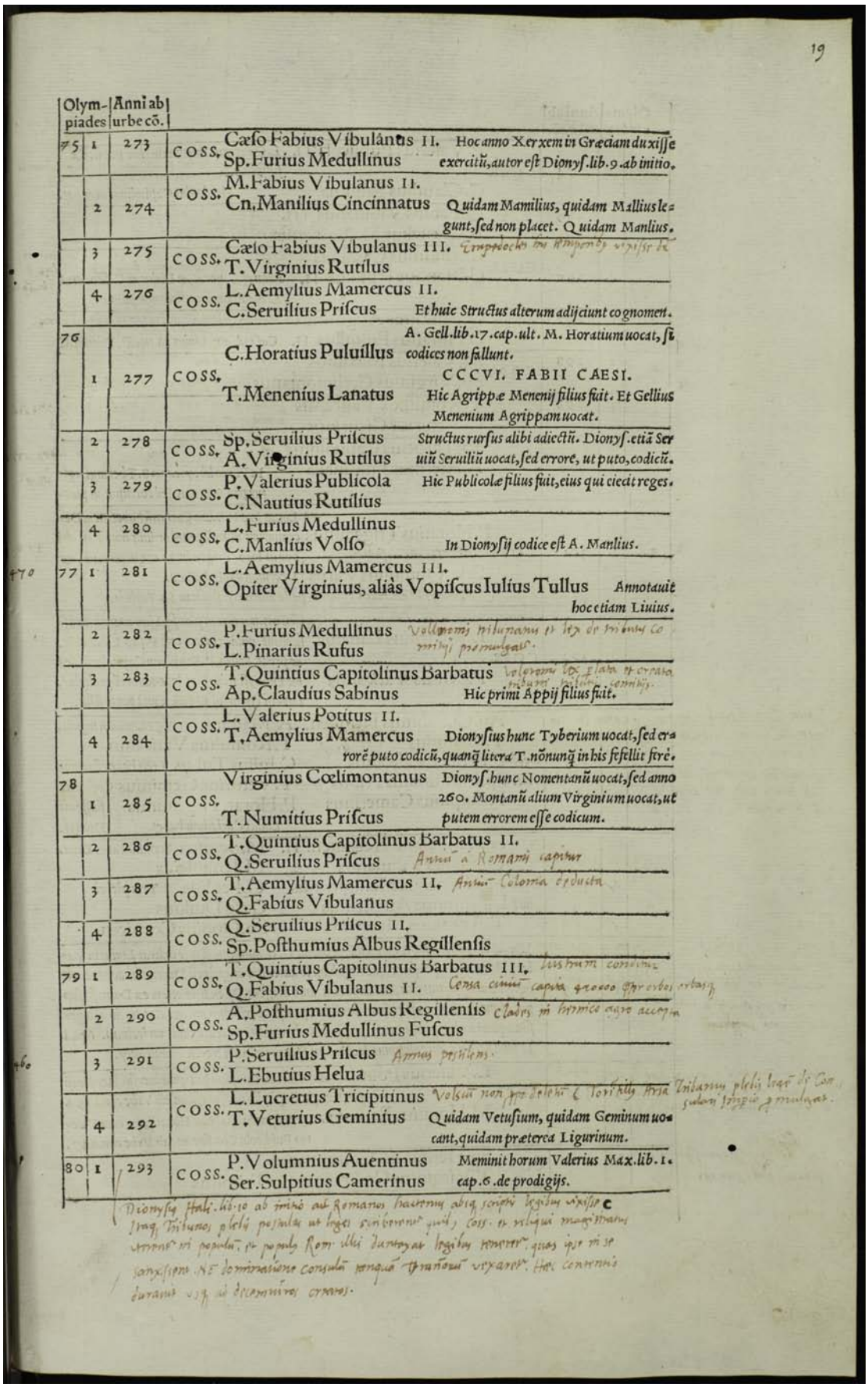


18

Olympiades		Anni ab urbe cõ.			
	3	255	COSS.	P. Veturius Geminius T. Ebutius Helua	Liuius Cn. Vetuſium uocat. Dionyſius P. Veturium Geminium. Alij, Cicurinũ. Caſſiodorus etiam L. non P. Liuij codices T. Ebutiũ uocant, & rectè. Dionyſius, P. ſed codex eius errat.
	4	256	COSS.	T. Largius Flauius II. Q. Chlœlius Siculus	In Liuij codicibus nõ rectè T. Lartius legitur. Quidam etiam Voculam cognominant.
71	1	257	COSS.	A. Sempronius Atratinus M. Minutius Augurinus	
	2	258	COSS.	A. Poſthumius Regillenſis T. Virginius Tricoſtus	In Caſſiodori codice C. prænomen eſt.
	3	259	COSS.	Ap. Claudius Sabinus P. Seruilius Priſcus	Horũ COSS. meminit Plin. lib. 35. cap. 3. ab initio. Cõuenit autem etiam in annis. Quidam Structũ quoque cognominant.
	4	260	COSS.	A. Virginius Cælimontanus T. Vetuſius Geminius	Hunc annũ ab Vrbe cõd. eſſe 260. Dionyſius perhibet, qui Virginiũ, Montanum cognominat. Liuius, ut ſolet frequentius, cognomen omittit. SECESSIO plebis in Sacrum montem.
72	1	261	COSS.	Sp. Caſsius Vicelinus II. Poſthumius Cominius Aurunus II.	Primi Tribuni plebis, autore Dionyſ. 490
	2	262	COSS.	T. Geganius Macerinus P. Minutius Augurinus	
	3	263	COSS.	A. Sempronius Atratinus II. M. Minutius Augurinus II.	
	4	264	COSS.	Q. Sulpitius Camerinus Sp. Largius Flauius II.	Horũ atq; ſequẽtis anni COSS. nomina omittit Liuij codex, ex Dionyſ. appoſuimus. Dionyſij codex habet Flauius, quum potius Rufus ſit legendum.
73	1	265	COSS.	C. Iulius Tullus P. Pinarius Rufus	Toties Iunium pro Iulio, & Tullium pro Tullo reperias, ut uix ſcias quid ſequaris, nec in Coss. ſolum, ſed in duobus etiã Rom. regibus. Quidam Tullius nomen putant, Tullus cognomen, ſed & prænomen in tertio Rom. rege.
	2	266	COSS.	Sp. Nautius Rutilius Sex. Furius Philus	Cn. Martij Coriolani mors.
	3	267	COSS.	C. Aquilius T. Sicinius	Horum Coss. cognomina nuſquam inuenio.
	4	268	COSS.	Sp. Caſſius Vicelinus III. Proculus Virginius Rutilus	Lex Agraria primũ prolata a Spurio Caſſio
74	1	269	COSS.	Q. Fabius Vibulanus Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis	
	2	270	COSS.	L. Aemylius Mamercus Cæſo Fabius Vibulanus	Et hũc annũ 270. ab Vrbe cõd. fatetur Dionyſius lib. 8. ait, hunc Valeriũ Publicolæ eius qui eiecit reges fratrem fuiſſe, quapropter à quibuſdam etiam Publicola cognominatur. Sed ſuſpicor eo in loco errare Dionyſij codicẽ.
	3	271	COSS.	M. Fabius Vibulanus L. Valerius Potitus	Et hũc annũ 270. ab Vrbe cõd. fatetur Dionyſius lib. 8. ait, hunc Valeriũ Publicolæ eius qui eiecit reges fratrem fuiſſe, quapropter à quibuſdam etiam Publicola cognominatur. Sed ſuſpicor eo in loco errare Dionyſij codicẽ. 480
	4	272	COSS.	Q. Fabius Vibulanus II. C. Iulius Tullus	Videnum idem ſit qui anno 265. fuit, & Tullus non Tullius cognominandus, & qui poſtea factus Decemuir.

3 Livius hoc anno pugnam ad Regillum lacum contra latinos ac Tarquinios factam refert.[282]
8 Hoc anno primum dictatorem creatum Romae ait Dionysius.[283]
10 Aedes Saturno dedicatae inquit Dionysius. Saturnalia instituta.[284]
13 Pugnatum ad Regillum lacum putat Dionysius.[285]
14 Appiorum familiam vide per aliquos viros descriptam lib. 4, fol. 25,[286] parte 2a.[287]
15 Mors T. Superbi Cumae.
24 Magna Romae fames
25 Menenii Agrippae mors.
26 Cn. Martius Coriolanus in exilium missus
37 De hoc multa mentio in rom[ana] historia max[ime] apud Dionys[ium] lib. 6 et deinde duobus sequentib[us] 7 et 8.
41 Sp. Cassius vir consularis, qui legem agrariam primus suaserat, de Saxo Tarpeio deiicitur, ut inquit Dionysius lib. 8. Quidam eum a patre cesum aiunt.[288]
41 Lex agraria primum prolata a Spurio Cassio[289]
43 Hic Cornelii gentis primus inter consules numeratur.
48 Pugna ad Salamina

[282] Livy, *Roman History*, II, 19.
[283] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, V, 73.
[284] *Idem*, VI, 1.
[285] *Idem*, VI, 4–13.
[286] Henricus Glareanus, *In omneis ... T. Livii Patavinii clarissimi historici decadas, annotationes, cum eiusdem Chronologia ...*, Basle, Michael Isengrin, 1540.
[287] Secunda.
[288] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, VIII, 78.
[289] *Idem*, VIII, 70.

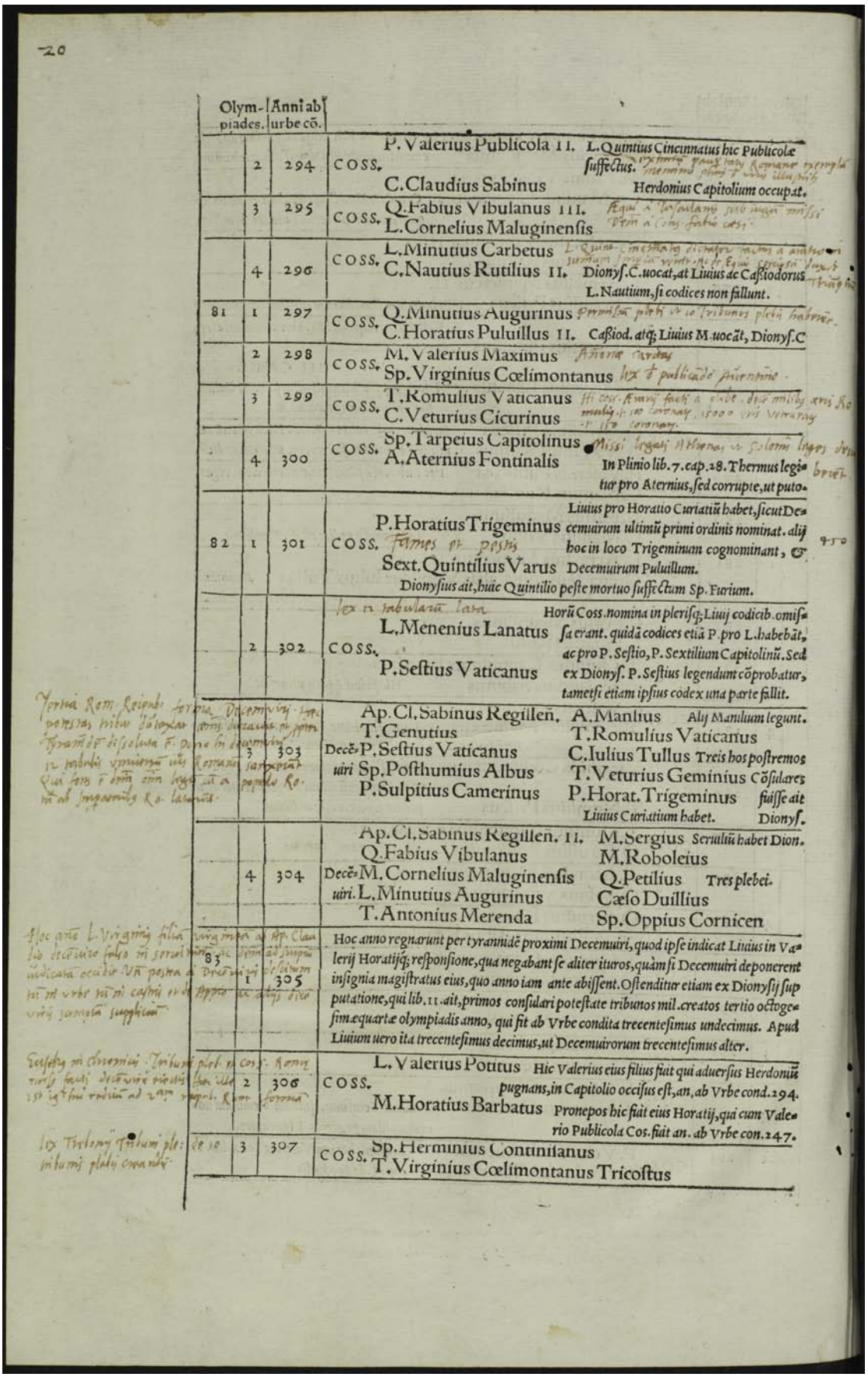


19

Olympiades		Anni ab urbe cõ.			
75	1	273	COSS.	Cæso Fabius Vibulanus II. Sp. Furius Medullinus	Hoc anno Xerxem in Græciam duxisse exercitũ, autor est Dionys. lib. 9. ab initio.
	2	274	COSS.	M. Fabius Vibulanus II. Cn. Manilius Cincinnatus	Quidam Mamilius, quidam Mallius legunt, sed non placet. Quidam Manlius.
	3	275	COSS.	Cæso Fabius Vibulanus III. T. Virginius Rutilus	
	4	276	COSS.	L. Aemylius Mamercus II. C. Seruilius Priscus	Et huic Structus alterum adijciunt cognomen.
76	1	277	COSS.	C. Horatius Puluillus T. Menenius Lanatus	A. Gell. lib. 17. cap. ult. M. Horatium uocat, si codices non fallunt. CCCVI. FABII CAESI. Hic Agrippæ Menenij filius fuit. Et Gellius Menenium Agrippam uocat.
	2	278	COSS.	Sp. Seruilius Priscus A. Virginius Rutilus	Structus rursus alibi adiectũ. Dionys. etiã Seruiũ Seruiliũ uocat, sed errore, ut puto, codicũ.
	3	279	COSS.	P. Valerius Publicola C. Nautius Rutilius	Hic Publicolæ filius fuit, eius qui ejecit reges.
	4	280	COSS.	L. Furius Medullinus C. Manlius Volso	In Dionysij codice est A. Manlius.
77	1	281	COSS.	L. Aemylius Mamercus III. Opiter Virginius, aliàs Vopiscus Iulius Tullus	Annotauit hoc etiam Liuius.
	2	282	COSS.	P. Furius Medullinus L. Pinarius Rufus	
	3	283	COSS.	T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus Ap. Claudius Sabinus	Hic primi Appij filius fuit.
	4	284	COSS.	L. Valerius Potitus II. T. Aemylius Mamercus	Dionysius hunc Tyberium uocat, sed erroreẽ puto codicũ, quanq; litera T. nõnunq; in his fefellit ferè.
78	1	285	COSS.	Virginius Cœlimontanus T. Numitius Priscus	Dionys. hunc Nomentanũ uocat, sed anno 260. Montanũ alium Virginium uocat, ut putem errorem esse codicum.
	2	286	COSS.	T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus II. Q. Seruilius Priscus	
	3	287	COSS.	T. Aemylius Mamercus II. Q. Fabius Vibulanus	
	4	288	COSS.	Q. Seruilius Priscus II. Sp. Posthumius Albus Regillensis	
79	1	289	COSS.	T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus III. Q. Fabius Vibulanus II.	
	2	290	COSS.	A. Posthumius Albus Regillensis Sp. Furius Medullinus Fusc[us]	
	3	291	COSS.	P. Seruilius Priscus L. Ebutius Helua	
	4	292	COSS.	L. Lucretius Tricipitinus T. Veturius Geminius	Quidam Vetusium, quidam Geminum uocant, quidam præterea Ligurinum.
80	1	293	COSS.	P. Volumnius Auentinus Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus	Meminit horum Valerius Max. lib. 1. cap. 6. de prodigijs.

8 Empedocles his temporibus vixisse dicitur.
26 Volleronis[290] tribunatus et lex de tributis comitiis promulgat[.?.].[291]
28 Voleronis lex perlata et creata tribuni tributis comitiis.
37 Antium a Romanis capitur
38 Antium colonia deducta[292]
42 Lustrum conditur
43 Censa civium capita 420'000 praeter orbos orbasque[293]
44 Clades in hernico agro accepta
46 Annus pestilens.
48 Volscum non[294] prope deletum. C. Torentillus Arsa[295] tribunus plebis legem de consularii imperio promulgat.
53 Dionysius Hali[carnasaeus]. lib. 10 ab initio ait, Romanos hactenus absque scriptis legibus vixisse. Itaque tribunos plebis postulas[se], ut leges scriberentur, quibus consules et reliqui magistratus uterentur in populum, et populus rom[anus] illis duntaxat legibus teneretur, quas ipse in se sanxissent,[296] non dominatione consulum tanquam tyranorum vexaretur. Haec contentio duravit usque ad decemviros creatos.[297]

[290] Voleronis (as in the Paris Copy).
[291] Promulgata (as in the Paris Copy).
[292] Deductum (as in the Paris Copy).
[293] Quotation from: Livy, *Roman History*, III, 3, 9.
[294] Nomen (as in the Paris Copy).
[295] Terentilius Arsa.
[296] Sanxisset (as in the Paris Copy).
[297] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, X, 1–2.



Olympiades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.		
	2	294	COSS.	P. Valerius Publicola II. L. Quintius Cincinnatus hic Publicolæ suffectus. C. Claudius Sabinus Herdonius Capitolium occupat.
	3	295	COSS.	Q. Fabius Vibulanus III. L. Cornelius Maluginensis
	4	296	COSS.	L. Minutius Carbetus C. Nautius Rutilius II. Dionys. C. uocat, at Liuius ac Cassiodorus L. Nautium, si codices non fallunt.
81	1	297	COSS.	Q. Minutius Augurinus C. Horatius Puluillus II. Cassiod. atq; Liuius M. uocat, Dionys. C
	2	298	COSS.	M. Valerius Maximus Sp. Virginius Cœlimontanus
	3	299	COSS.	T. Romulius Vaticanus C. Veturius Cicurinus
	4	300	COSS.	Sp. Tarpeius Capitolinus A. Aternius Fontinalis In Plinio lib. 7. cap. 28. Thermus legitur pro Aternius, sed corrupte, ut puto.
82	1	301	COSS.	P. Horatius Trigeminus Sext. Quintilius Varus Liuius pro Horatio Curiatiũ habet, sicut Decemuirum ultimũ primi ordinis nominat. alij hoc in loco Trigeminum cognominant, & Decemuirum Puluillum. Dionysius ait, huic Quintilio peste mortuo suffectum Sp. Furium.
	2	302	COSS.	L. Menenius Lanatus P. Sestius Vaticanus Horũ Coss. nomina in pleriſq; Liuij codicib. omissa erant. quidã codices etiã P. pro L. habebãt, ac pro P. Sestio, P. Sextilium Capitolinũ. Sed ex Dionys. P. Sestius legendum cõprobatur, tametsi etiam ipsius codex una parte fallit.
	3	303	Decẽuiri	Ap. Cl. Sabinus Regillen. T. Genutius P. Sestius Vaticanus Sp. Posthumius Albus P. Sulpitius Camerinus A. Manlius T. Romulius Vaticanus C. Iulius Tullus T. Veturius Geminius P. Horat. Trigeminus Liuius Curiatium habet. Alij Manlium legunt. Treis hos postremos Cõsulares fuisse ait Dionys.
	4	304	Decẽuiri	Ap. Cl. Sabinus Regillen. II. Q. Fabius Vibulanus M. Cornelius Maluginensis L. Minutius Augurinus T. Antonius Merenda M. Sergius Seruliũ habet Dion. M. Roboleius Q. Petilius Cæso Duillius Sp. Oppius Cornicen Tres plebei.
83	1	305	Decẽuiri	Hoc anno regnarunt per tyrannidẽ proximi Decemuiri, quod ipse indicat Liuius in Valerij Horatijq; responsione, qua negabant se aliter ituros, quàm si Decemuiri deponerent insignia magistratus eius, quo anno iam ante abissent. Ostenditur etiam ex Dionysij supputatione, qui lib. II. ait, primos consulari potestate tribunos mil. creatos tertio octogesimæquartæ olympiadis anno, quæ fit ab Vrbe condita trecentesimus undecimus. Apud Liuium uero ita trecentesimus decimus, ut Decemuirorum trecentesimus alter.
	2	306	COSS.	L. Valerius Potitus M. Horatius Barbatus Hic Valerius eius filius fuit qui aduersus Herdoniũ pugnans, in Capitolio occisus est, an. ab Vrbe cond. 294. Pronepos hic fuit eius Horatij, qui cum Valerio Publicola Cos. fuit an. ab Vrbe con. 247.
	3	307	COSS.	Sp. Herminius Continianus T. Virginius Cœlimontanus Tricostus

4 eximium paupertatis romane exemplum, meminit Plinius de viris illustribus[298]

6 Aequi a Tusculanis sub iugum missi, deinde a cons[ule] Fabio caesi.

8 L. Quinti[us] Cincinnatus dictator factus a[b] aratro in summum imperium venit. Ac de Aequis speciosum duxit triumphum

11 Permissum plebi ut 10 tribunos plebis haberent.[299]

13 Annonae caritas

14 lex de publicando Aventino

15 Hi consules aerarii facti a plebe decem milibus aeris Romulius .I.[300] 100 coronatis, 15000 eris Vetrurius[301] .I.[302] 150 coronatis.[303]

17 Missi legati Athenas ut Solonis leges describerent.

22 Fames et pestis.

25 lex 12 tabularum lata

30 Tertia romanae reipub[licae] forma decemviri. Haec potestas tribus dumtaxat annis duravit et propter tyrannidem dissoluta est. Porro hi decemviri 12 tabulis universum ius romanum sanxerunt, qui fons est deinde omnium legum tum a populo romano tum ab imperatoribus ro[manis] lata[.?.]unt.[304]

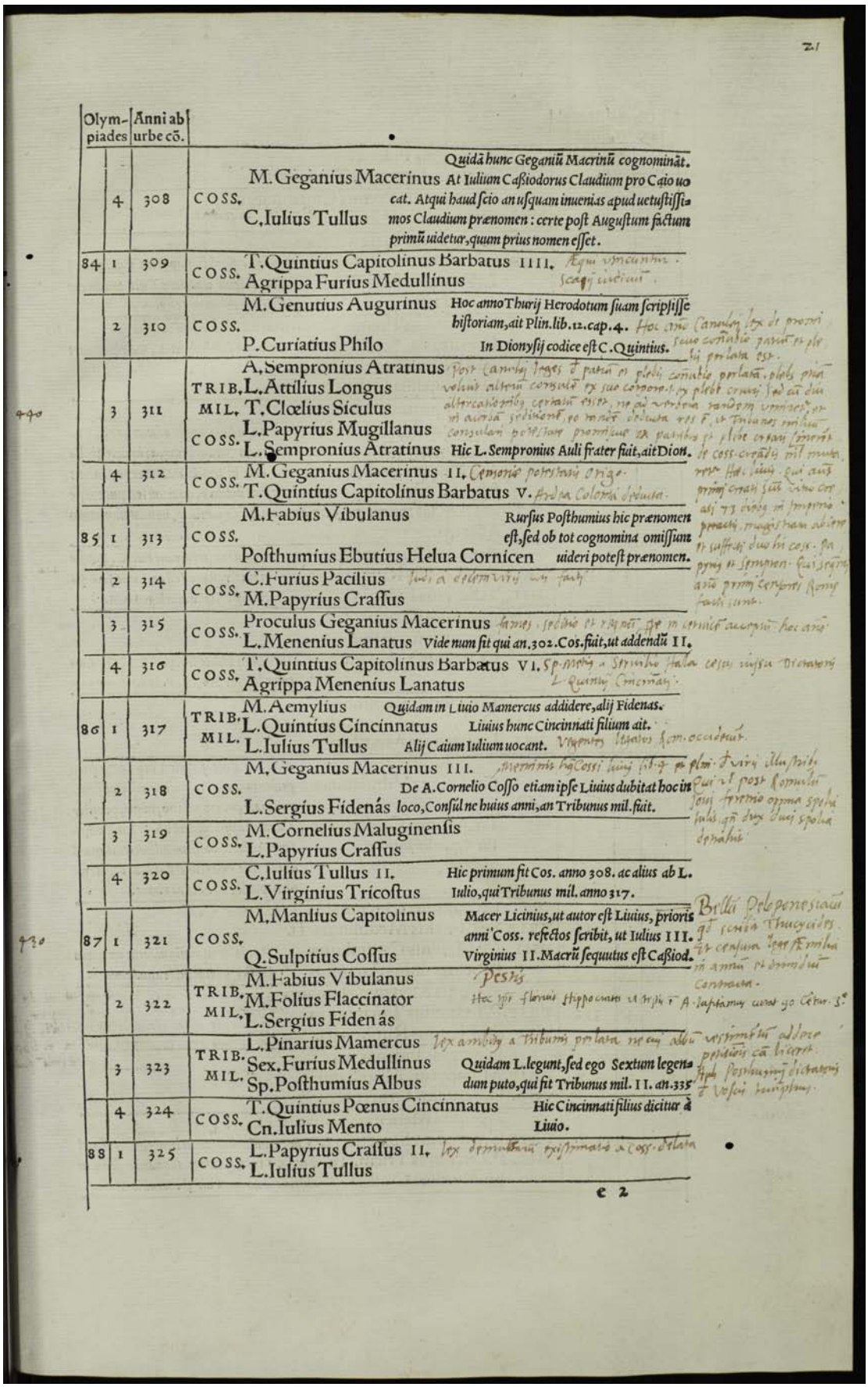
41 Hoc anno L. Virginius filiam virgineam ab Ap[pio] Claudio decemviro falso in servitutem ac deinde ad stuprum iudicatam occidit. Unde postea a decemviris descitum, tum in urbe tum in castris, et de Appio ac aliis decemviris sumptum supplicium.[305]

47 Eusebius in Chronicis: Tribuni plebis et consules Rome rursus facti, decemviris eiectis. Haec ille. Est igitur hic reditum ad secundam reipub[licae] rom[anae] formam.[306]

51 Lex Trebonii tribuni plebis de 10 tribunis plebis creandis.

---

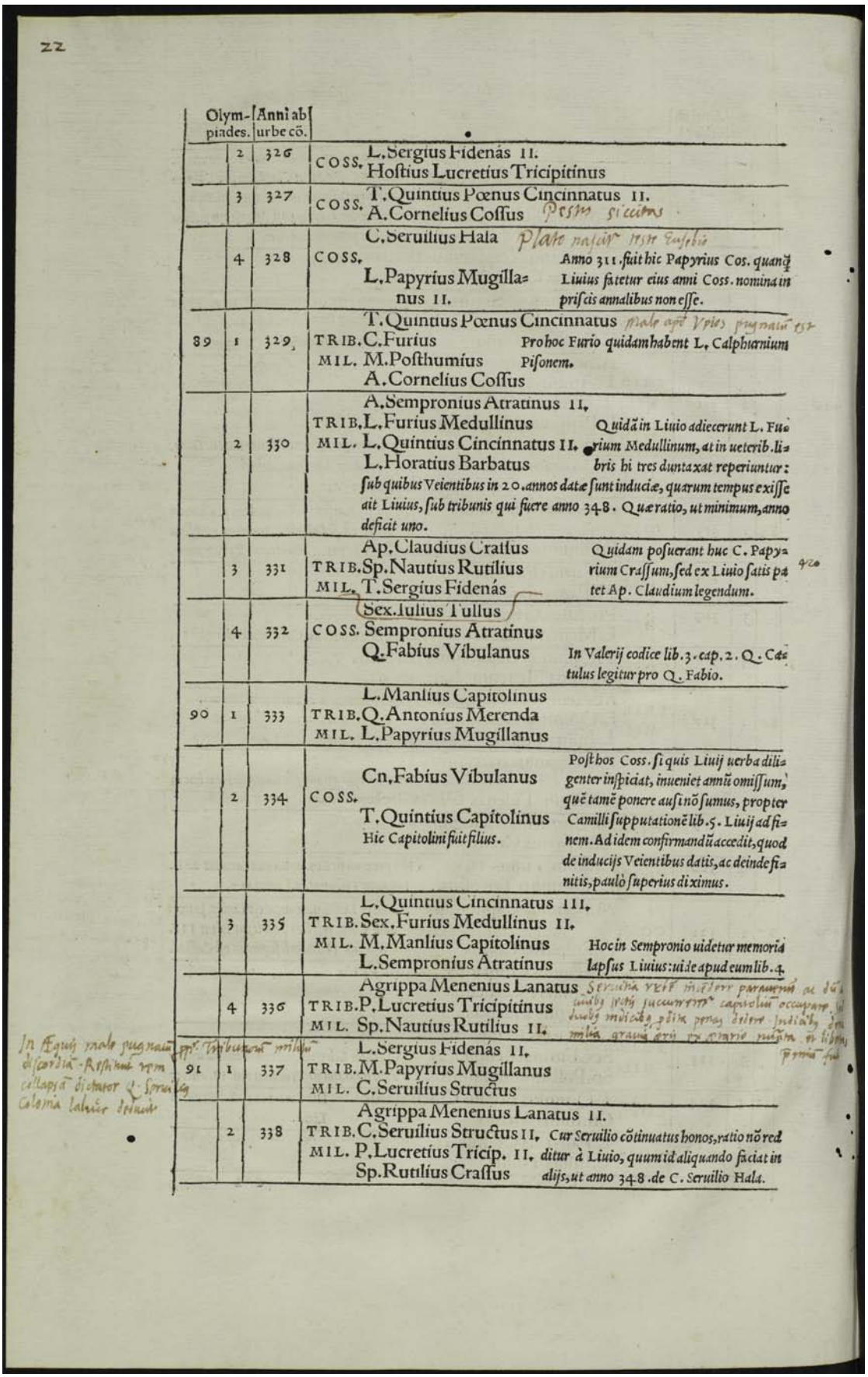
[298] Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 17.
[299] Haberet.
[300] Id est.
[301] Veturius. See Glareanus's work on weights and measures (*De asse et partibus eius*).
[302] Id est.
[303] Livy, *Roman History*, III, 31, 6.
[304] Latarunt (as in the Paris Copy).
[305] Livy, *Roman History*, III, 44, 1–III, 58, 11.
[306] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicle*, a Abr. 1507.



Olympiades		Anni ab urbe cõ.		
	4	308	COSS.	M. Geganius Macerinus C. Iulius Tullus *Quidã hunc Geganiũ Macrinũ cognominãt. At Iulium Caßiodorus Claudium pro Cãio uocat. Atqui haud ſcio an uſquam inueniãs apud uetuſtiſſimos Claudium prænomen: certe poſt Auguſtum factum primũ uidetur, quum prius nomen eſſet.*
84	1	309	COSS.	T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus IIII. Agrippa Furius Medullinus
	2	310	COSS.	M. Genutius Augurinus P. Curiatius Philo *Hoc anno Thurij Herodotum ſuam ſcripſiſſe hiſtoriam, ait Plin. lib. 12. cap. 4.* *In Dionyſij codice eſt C. Quintius.*
	3	311	TRIB. MIL. COSS.	A. Sempronius Atratinus L. Attilius Longus T. Clœlius Siculus L. Papyrius Mugillanus L. Sempronius Atratinus *Hic L. Sempronius Auli frater fuit, ait Dion.*
	4	312	COSS.	M. Geganius Macerinus II. T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus V.
85	1	313	COSS.	M. Fabius Vibulanus Poſthumius Ebutius Helua Cornicen *Rurſus Poſthumius hic prænomen eſt, ſed ob tot cognomina omiſſum uideri poteſt prænomen.*
	2	314	COSS.	C. Furius Pacilius M. Papyrius Craſſus
	3	315	COSS.	Proculus Geganius Macerinus L. Menenius Lanatus *Vide num ſit qui an. 302. Cos. fuit, ut addendũ II.*
	4	316	COSS.	T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus VI. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus
86	1	317	TRIB. MIL.	M. Aemylius L. Quintius Cincinnatus L. Iulius Tullus *Quidam in Liuio Mamercus addidere, alij Fidenas.* *Liuius hunc Cincinnati filium ait.* *Alij Caium Iulium uocant.*
	2	318	COSS.	M. Geganius Macerinus III. L. Sergius Fidenas *De A. Cornelio Coſſo etiam ipſe Liuius dubitat hoc in loco, Conſul ne huius anni, an Tribunus mil. fuit.*
	3	319	COSS.	M. Cornelius Maluginenſis L. Papyrius Craſſus
	4	320	COSS.	C. Iulius Tullus II. L. Virginius Tricoſtus *Hic primum fit Cos. anno 308. ac alius ab L. Iulio, qui Tribunus mil. anno 317.*
87	1	321	COSS.	M. Manlius Capitolinus Q. Sulpitius Coſſus *Macer Licinius, ut autor eſt Liuius, prioris anni Coſſ. refectos ſcribit, ut Iulius III. Virginius II. Macrũ ſequutus eſt Caßiod.*
	2	322	TRIB. MIL.	M. Fabius Vibulanus M. Folius Flaccinator L. Sergius Fidenas *Peſtis*
	3	323	TRIB. MIL.	L. Pinarius Mamercus Sex. Furius Medullinus Sp. Poſthumius Albus *Quidam L. legunt, ſed ego Sextum legendum puto, qui fit Tribunus mil. II. an. 335*
	4	324	COSS.	T. Quintius Pœnus Cincinnatus Cn. Iulius Mento *Hic Cincinnati filius dicitur à Liuio.*
88	1	325	COSS.	L. Papyrius Craſſus II. L. Iulius Tullus

8 Aequi vincuntur.
9 Scapii[307] iudicium.
11 Hoc anno Canulei lex de promiscuo connubio patrum et plebis perlata est.
13 Post Canulei leges de patrum ac plebis connubio perlatam, plebs etiam voluit alterum consulem ex suo corpore .I.[308] ex plebe creari. Sed cum diu altercationibus certatum esset, ne ad verbera tandem veniretur et in acerbam seditionem, eo tandem deducta res est, ut tribunos militum consulari potestate promiscue ex patribus et plebe creari sinerent, de consulibus creandis nihil mutaretur. Haec Livius.[309] Qui autem primi creati sunt, vitio creati, 73 diebus in imperio peractis, magistratu abiere et suffecti [sunt][310] duo hi consules Papyrius et Sempron[ius], qui sequenti anno primi censores Rome facti sunt.
18 Censoriae potestatis origo.
19 Ardea Colonia deducta.
23 ludi a decemviris voti facti.
25 fames, seditio et regnum prope in cervicem acceptum hoc anno
27 Sp. Melius a Servilio Itala caesus iussu Dictatoris L. Quintii Cincinnati.
31 Veientes legatos rom[anos] occiderunt.
32 Meminit huius Cossi Livius lib. 4[311] et Plin[ius] de viris illustribus.[312] Qui 2us[313] post Romulum Iovi Feretrio opima spolia tulit, quando dux duci spolia detrahit
39 Bellum Peleponesiacum, quod scribit Thucycides[sic!]. Et censura lege Aemilia in annum et dimidium contracta.
42 Pestis
43 Hoc tempore floruit Hippocrates ut testis est A[matus] Lusitanus curat[ionum] 90 Centur[ia] 3[a].[314]
45 lex ambitus a tribunis perlata, ne cui album vestimentum addere petitionis casu liceret.[315]
47 Auli Posthumii dictatoris de Voscis[316] triumphus.
50 lex de multarum existimatio[ne][317] a consulibus delata

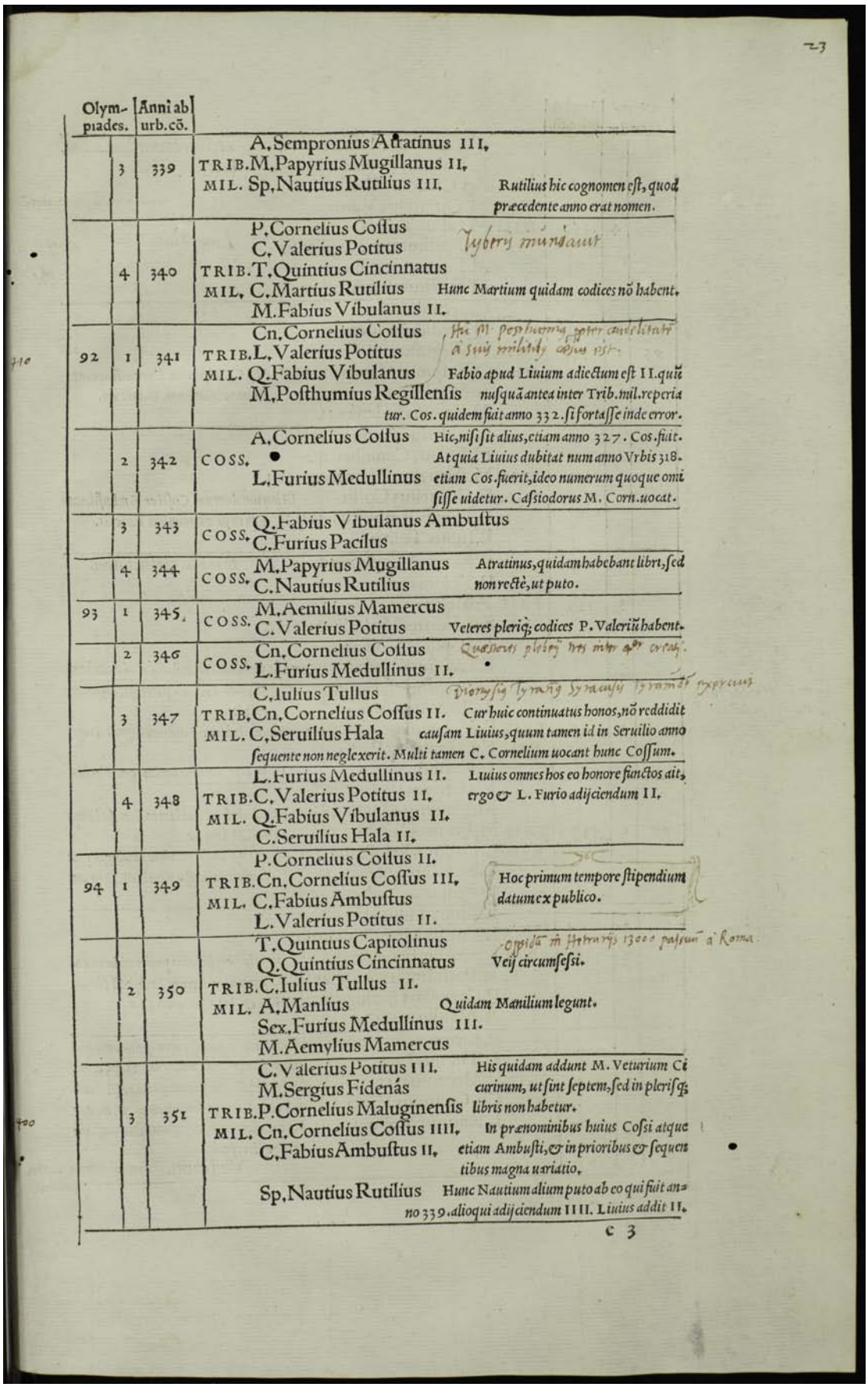
[307] Scaptii. Cf. Livy, *Roman History*, III, 71, 3–III, 72, 7.
[308] Id est.
[309] Livy, *Roman History*, IV, 6, 8.
[310] As in the Paris copy.
[311] Livy, *Roman History*, IV, 19, 1–IV, 20, 5.
[312] Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 25.
[313] Secundus.
[314] Tertia. The passage in question appears in Amatus Lusitanus, *Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem* (Bordeaux, 1620), 340.
[315] Livy, *Roman History*, IV, 25, 13: "… ne cui album in vestimentum addere petitionis causa liceret."
[316] Volscis (as in the Paris Copy).
[317] Correct would be according to Livy, *Roman History*, IV, 30, 3: lex de multarum aestimatione (as in the Paris Copy).



Olympiades.	Anni ab urbe cõ.		
	2	326	COSS. L. Sergius Fidenas II. Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus
	3	327	COSS. T. Quintius Pœnus Cincinnatus II. A. Cornelius Cossus
	4	328	COSS. C. Seruilius Hala L. Papyrius Mugillanus II. — Anno 311. fuit hic Papyrius Cos. quanq; Liuius fatetur eius anni Coss. nomina in priscis annalibus non esse.
89	1	329	TRIB. T. Quintius Pœnus Cincinnatus C. Furius MIL. M. Posthumius A. Cornelius Cossus — Pro hoc Furio quidam habent L. Calphurnium Pisonem.
	2	330	TRIB. A. Sempronius Atratinus II. L. Furius Medullinus MIL. L. Quintius Cincinnatus II. L. Horatius Barbatus — Quidã in Liuio adiecerunt L. Furium Medullinum, at in ueteribus libris hi tres duntaxat reperiuntur: sub quibus Veientibus in 20. annos datæ sunt inducíæ, quarum tempus exisse ait Liuius, sub tribunis qui fuere anno 348. Quæ ratio, ut minimum, anno deficit uno.
	3	331	TRIB. Ap. Claudius Crassus Sp. Nautius Rutilius MIL. T. Sergius Fidenas — Quidam posuerant huc C. Papyrium Crassum, sed ex Liuio satis patet Ap. Claudium legendum.
	4	332	Sex. Iulius Tullus COSS. Sempronius Atratinus Q. Fabius Vibulanus — In Valerij codice lib. 3. cap. 2. Q. Cæsulus legitur pro Q. Fabio.
90	1	333	L. Manlius Capitolinus TRIB. Q. Antonius Merenda MIL. L. Papyrius Mugillanus
	2	334	Cn. Fabius Vibulanus COSS. T. Quintius Capitolinus — Hic Capitolini fuit filius. — Post hos Coss. si quis Liuij uerba diligenter inspiciat, inueniet annũ omissum, quẽ tamẽ ponere ausi nõ sumus, propter Camilli supputationẽ lib. 5. Liuij ad finem. Ad idem confirmandũ accedit, quod de inducijs Veientibus datis, ac deinde finitis, paulò superius diximus.
	3	335	L. Quintius Cincinnatus III. TRIB. Sex. Furius Medullinus II. MIL. M. Manlius Capitolinus L. Sempronius Atratinus — Hoc in Sempronio uidetur memoriæ lapsus Liuius: uide apud eum lib. 4.
	4	336	Agrippa Menenius Lanatus TRIB. P. Lucretius Tricipitinus MIL. Sp. Nautius Rutilius II.
91	1	337	L. Sergius Fidenas II. TRIB. M. Papyrius Mugillanus MIL. C. Seruilius Structus
	2	338	Agrippa Menenius Lanatus II. TRIB. C. Seruilius Structus II. MIL. P. Lucretius Tricip. II. Sp. Rutilius Crassus — Cur Seruilio cõtinuatus honos, ratio nõ redditur à Liuio, quum id aliquando faciat in alijs, ut anno 348. de C. Seruilio Hala.

6 Pestis siccitas.
7 Plato nascitur teste Eusebio[318]
11 Male apud Veios pugnatum est
43 Servitia urbem incendere paraverunt ac dum a civibus tectis succurreretur capitolium occupare. Sed duobus indicibus prodita penas dedere. Indicibus dena milia gravis aeris ex aerario numerata et libertas praemium fuit.[319]
46 In Aequis male pugnatum propter tribunorum militum discordiam. Restituit rem collapsam dictator Q. Servilius colonia Labicos deducit.[320]

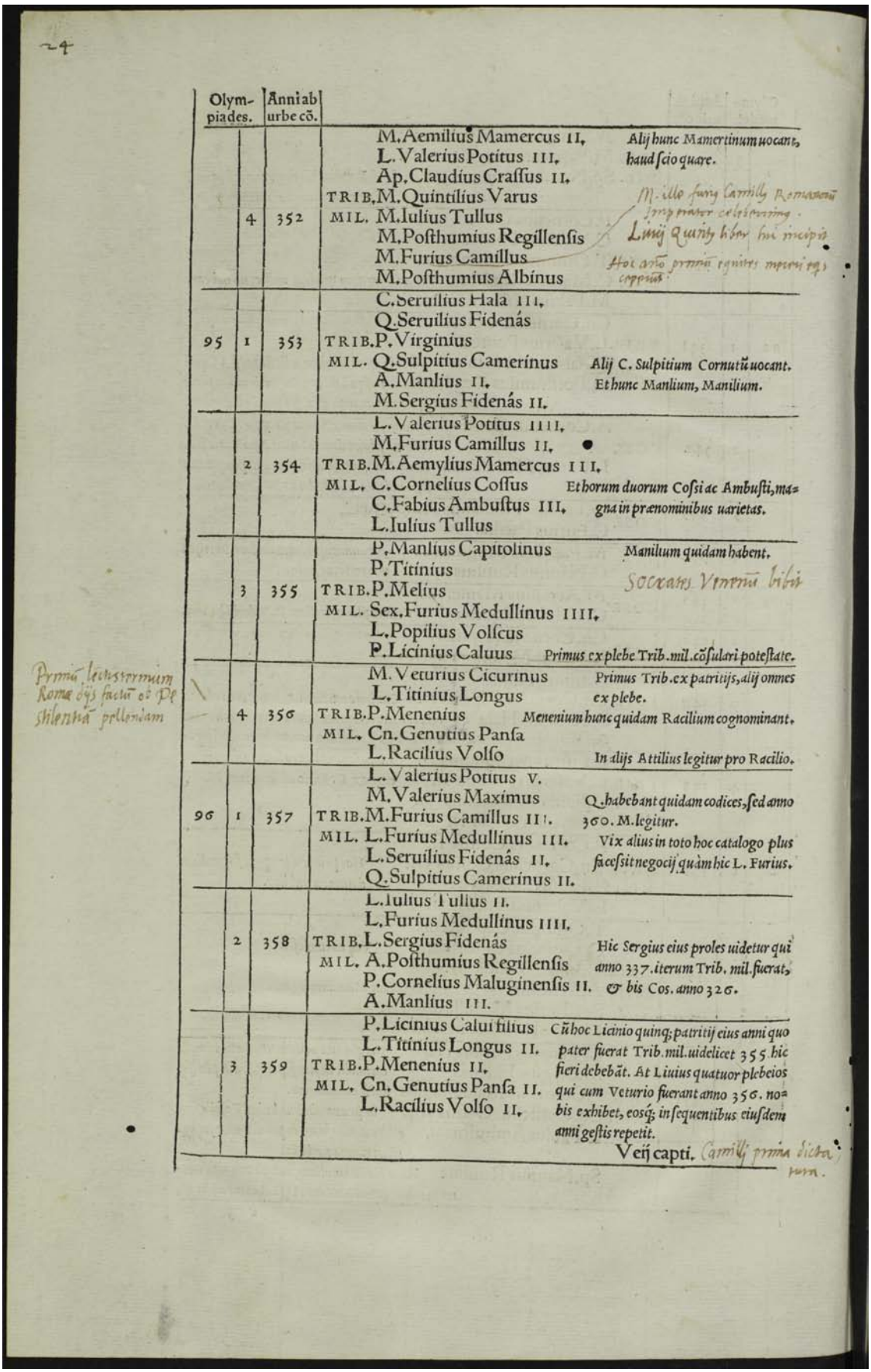
[318] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicle*, a. Abr. 1592.
[319] The last sentence is a quotation from Livy, *Roman History*, IV, 45, 2: "Indicibus dena milia gravis aeris, quae tum divitiae habebantur, ex aerario numerata et libertas praemium fuit."
[320] Deducitur (as in the Paris Copy).



Olympiades.		Anni ab urb. cō.		
	3	339	A. Sempronius Atratinus III.	
			TRIB. M. Papyrius Mugillanus II.	
			MIL. Sp. Nautius Rutilius III.	Rutilius hic cognomen est, quod præcedente anno erat nomen.
	4	340	P. Cornelius Cossus	
			C. Valerius Potitus	
			TRIB. T. Quintius Cincinnatus	
			MIL. C. Martius Rutilius	Hunc Martium quidam codices nō habent.
			M. Fabius Vibulanus II.	
92	1	341	Cn. Cornelius Cossus	
			TRIB. L. Valerius Potitus	
			MIL. Q. Fabius Vibulanus	Fabio apud Liuium adiectum est II. quū
			M. Posthumius Regillensis	nusquā antea inter Trib. mil. reperia
				tur. Cos. quidem fuit anno 332. si fortasse inde error.
	2	342	A. Cornelius Cossus	Hic, nisi sit alius, etiam anno 327. Cos. fuit.
			COSS.	At quia Liuius dubitat num anno Vrbis 318.
			L. Furius Medullinus	etiam Cos. fuerit, ideo numerum quoque omi
				sisse uidetur. Cassiodorus M. Corn. uocat.
	3	343	Q. Fabius Vibulanus Ambustus	
			COSS. C. Furius Pacilus	
	4	344	M. Papyrius Mugillanus	Atratinus, quidam habebant libri, sed
			COSS. C. Nautius Rutilius	non rectè, ut puto.
93	1	345.	M. Aemilius Mamercus	
			COSS. C. Valerius Potitus	Veteres plericq; codices P. Valeriū habent.
	2	346	Cn. Cornelius Cossus	
			COSS. L. Furius Medullinus II.	
	3	347	C. Iulius Tullus	
			TRIB. Cn. Cornelius Cossus II.	Cur huic continuatus honos, nō reddidit
			MIL. C. Seruilius Hala	causam Liuius, quum tamen id in Seruilio anno
				sequente non neglexerit. Multi tamen C. Cornelium uocant hunc Cossum.
	4	348	L. Furius Medullinus II.	Liuius omnes hos eo honore functos ait,
			TRIB. C. Valerius Potitus II.	ergo & L. Furio adijciendum II.
			MIL. Q. Fabius Vibulanus II.	
			C. Seruilius Hala II.	
94	1	349	P. Cornelius Cossus II.	
			TRIB. Cn. Cornelius Cossus III.	Hoc primum tempore stipendium
			MIL. C. Fabius Ambustus	datum ex publico.
			L. Valerius Potitus II.	
	2	350	T. Quintius Capitolinus	
			Q. Quintius Cincinnatus	Veij circumsessi.
			TRIB. C. Iulius Tullus II.	
			MIL. A. Manlius	Quidam Manilium legunt.
			Sex. Furius Medullinus III.	
			M. Aemylius Mamercus	
	3	351	C. Valerius Potitus III.	His quidam addunt M. Veturium Ci
			M. Sergius Fidenas	curinum, ut sint septem, sed in pleriscq;
			TRIB. P. Cornelius Maluginensis	libris non habetur.
			MIL. Cn. Cornelius Cossus IIII.	In prænominibus huius Cosi atque
			C. Fabius Ambustus II.	etiam Ambusti, & in prioribus & sequen
				tibus magna uariatio.
			Sp. Nautius Rutilius	Hunc Nautium alium puto ab eo qui fuit an=
				no 339. alioqui adijciendum IIII. Liuius addit II.

8 Tyberis inundavit.
12 Hic M. Posthumius propter crudelitatem a suis militibus caesus est.
27 Quaestores plebeii tres inter 4or[321] creati.
29 Dionysius tyrannus Syracusis tyrannidem exercuit[322]
41 Oppidum in Hetruriis 13000 passuum a Roma

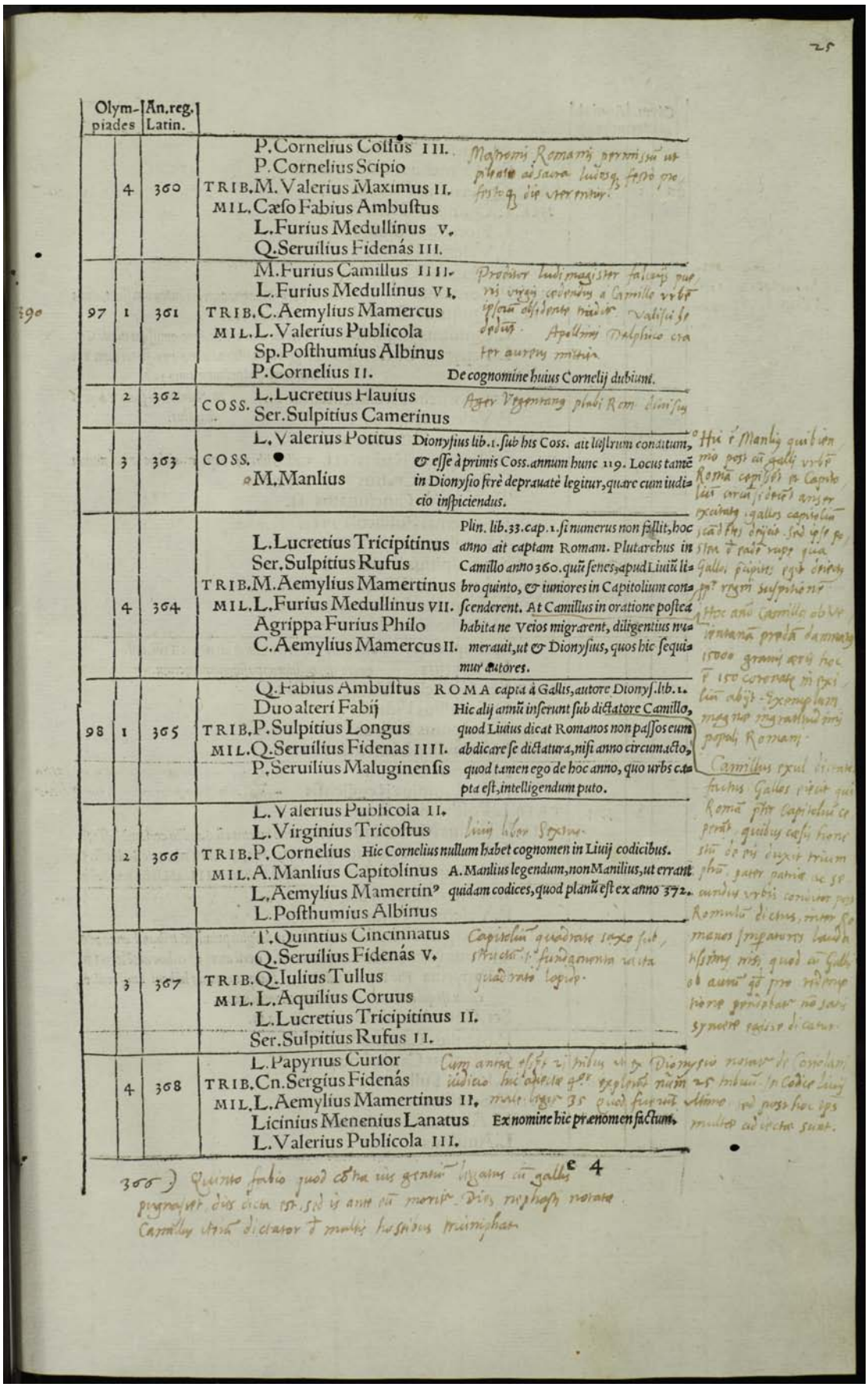
[321] Quatuor.
[322] Dionysius I. of Syracuse (430–367 v. Chr.).



Olympiades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.		
			M. Aemilius Mamercus II.	Alij hunc Mamertinum uocant, haud scio quare.
			L. Valerius Potitus III.	
			Ap. Claudius Crassus II.	
			TRIB. M. Quintilius Varus	
	4	352	MIL. M. Iulius Tullus	
			M. Posthumius Regillensis	
			M. Furius Camillus	
			M. Posthumius Albinus	
			C. Seruilius Hala III.	
			Q. Seruilius Fidenas	
95	1	353	TRIB. P. Virginius	
			MIL. Q. Sulpitius Camerinus	Alij C. Sulpitium Cornutũ uocant.
			A. Manlius II.	Et hunc Manlium, Manilium.
			M. Sergius Fidenas II.	
			L. Valerius Potitus IIII.	
			M. Furius Camillus II.	
	2	354	TRIB. M. Aemylius Mamercus III.	
			MIL. C. Cornelius Cossus	Et horum duorum Cosi ac Ambusti, magna in prænominibus uarietas.
			C. Fabius Ambustus III.	
			L. Iulius Tullus	
			P. Manlius Capitolinus	Manilium quidam habent.
			P. Titinius	
	3	355	TRIB. P. Melius	
			MIL. Sex. Furius Medullinus IIII.	
			L. Popilius Volscus	
			P. Licinius Caluus	Primus ex plebe Trib. mil. cõsulari potestate.
			M. Veturius Cicurinus	Primus Trib. ex patritijs, alij omnes ex plebe.
			L. Titinius Longus	
	4	356	TRIB. P. Menenius	Menenium hunc quidam Racilium cognominant.
			MIL. Cn. Genutius Pansa	
			L. Racilius Volso	In alijs Attilius legitur pro Racilio.
			L. Valerius Potitus V.	
			M. Valerius Maximus	Q. habebant quidam codices, sed anno 360. M. legitur.
96	1	357	TRIB. M. Furius Camillus III.	
			MIL. L. Furius Medullinus III.	Vix alius in toto hoc catalogo plus faecesit negocij quàm hic L. Furius.
			L. Seruilius Fidenas II.	
			Q. Sulpitius Camerinus II.	
			L. Iulius Tulius II.	
			L. Furius Medullinus IIII.	
	2	358	TRIB. L. Sergius Fidenas	Hic Sergius eius proles uidetur qui anno 337. iterum Trib. mil. fuerat, & bis Cos. anno 326.
			MIL. A. Posthumius Regillensis	
			P. Cornelius Maluginensis II.	
			A. Manlius III.	
			P. Licinius Calui filius	Cũ hoc Licinio quinq; patritij eius anni quo pater fuerat Trib. mil. uidelicet 355 hic fieri debebãt. At Liuius quatuor plebeios qui cum Veturio fuerant anno 356. nobis exhibet, eosq; in sequentibus eiusdem anni gestis repetit.
			L. Titinius Longus II.	
	3	359	TRIB. P. Menenius II.	
			MIL. Cn. Genutius Pansa II.	
			L. Racilius Volso II.	
			Veij capti.	

6 M. ille Furius Camillus Romanorum Imperator celeberrimus.
8 Livius quintus liber hic incipit.
10 Hoc anno primum equites mereri equis ceperunt.[323]
25 Socrates venenum bibit
31 Primum lectisternium Romae diis factum ob pestilentiam pellendam
52 Camilli prima dictatura.

[323] Livy, *Roman History*, V, 7, 13: "Tum primum equis suis merere equites coeperunt." The possessive pronoune "suis" is lacking both in the Princeton and in the Paris copy. This is further evidence that this cannot be the record of a lecture, since Glareanus would certainly have said or read out "suis." It is not possible that two students, possibly hearing different forms of the same course, both missed the same necessary word, Both scribes worked from a printed original into which Glareanus had entered his notes. Note too that the Paris copy reads "merere", the Princeton one "mereri".



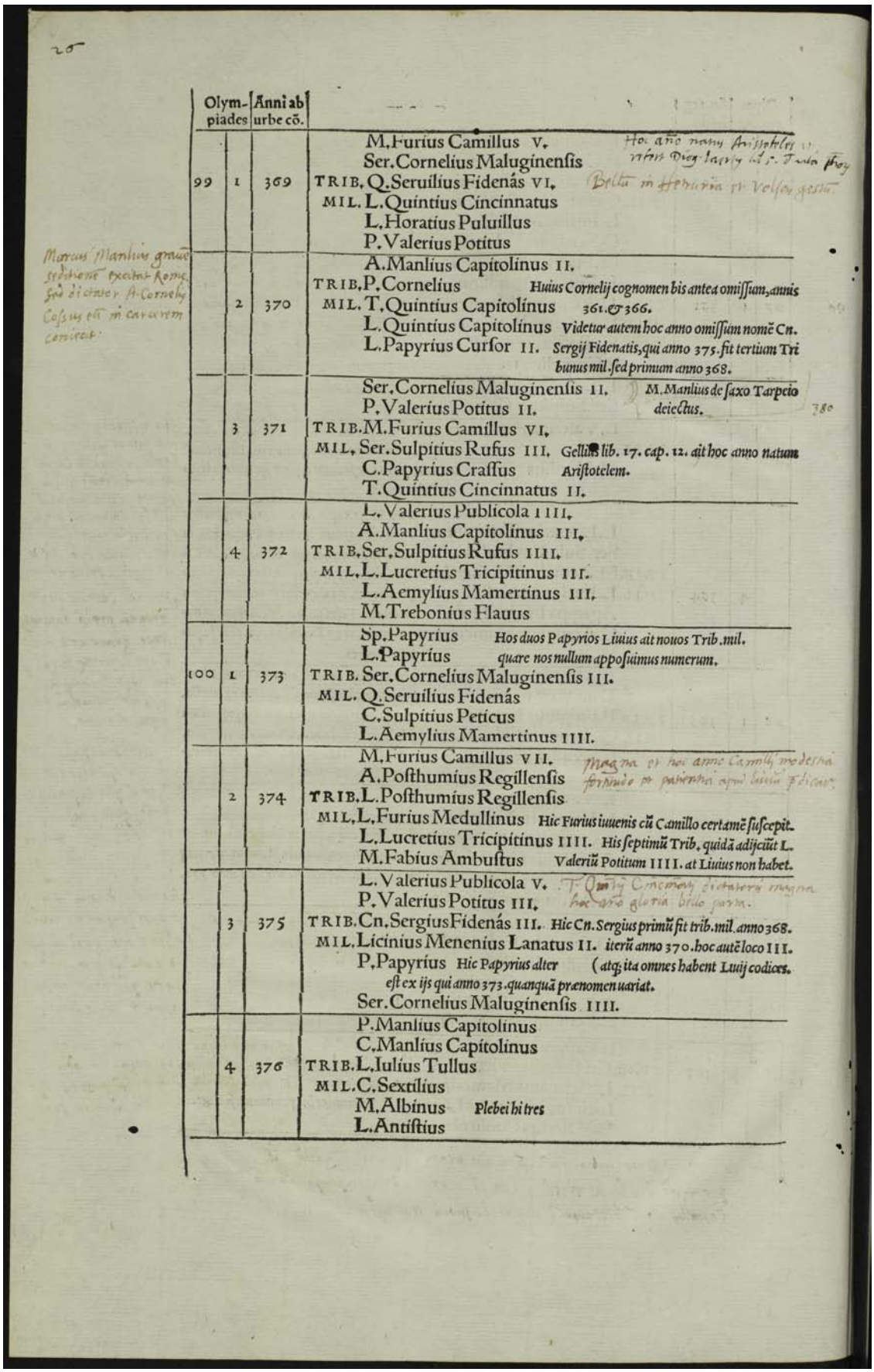
Olympiades		An. reg. Latin.		
			P. Cornelius Cossus III.	Magnum Romanis permissum ut
			P. Cornelius Scipio	
	4	360	TRIB. M. Valerius Maximus II.	
			MIL. Cæso Fabius Ambustus	
			L. Furius Medullinus V.	
			Q. Seruilius Fidenas III.	
			M. Furius Camillus IIII.	Prodictor ludi magister fal
			L. Furius Medullinus VI.	
390	97 1	361	TRIB. C. Aemylius Mamercus	
			MIL. L. Valerius Publicola	
			Sp. Posthumius Albinus	
			P. Cornelius II.	De cognomine huius Cornelij dubium.
	2	362	COSS. L. Lucretius Flauius	
			Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus	
			L. Valerius Potitus	Dionysius lib. 1. sub his Coss. ait lustrum conditum,
	3	363	COSS.	& esse à primis Coss. annum hunc 119. Locus tamē
			○ M. Manlius	in Dionysio frè deprauatè legitur, quare cum iudi-
				cio inspiciendus.
				Plin. lib. 33. cap. 1. si numerus non fallit, hoc
			L. Lucretius Tricipitinus	anno ait captam Romam. Plutarchus in
			Ser. Sulpitius Rufus	Camillo anno 360. quū senes, apud Liuiū li-
			TRIB. M. Aemylius Mamertinus	bro quinto, & iuniores in Capitolium con-
	4	364	MIL. L. Furius Medullinus VII.	scenderent. At Camillus in oratione posteà
			Agrippa Furius Philo	habita ne Veios migrarent, diligentius nu-
			C. Aemylius Mamercus II.	merauit, ut & Dionysius, quos hic sequia-
				mur Autores.
			Q. Fabius Ambustus	ROMA capta à Gallis, autore Dionys. lib. 1.
			Duo alteri Fabij	Hic alij annū inserunt sub dictatore Camillo,
98	1	365	TRIB. P. Sulpitius Longus	quod Liuius dicat Romanos non passos eum
			MIL. Q. Seruilius Fidenas IIII.	abdicare se dictatura, nisi anno circumacto,
			P. Seruilius Maluginensis	quod tamen ego de hoc anno, quo urbs ca-
				pta est, intelligendum puto.
			L. Valerius Publicola II.	
			L. Virginius Tricostus	
	2	366	TRIB. P. Cornelius	Hic Cornelius nullum habet cognomen in Liuij codicibus.
			MIL. A. Manlius Capitolinus	A. Manlius legendum, non Manilius, ut errant
			L. Aemylius Mamertin⁹	quidam codices, quod planū est ex anno 372.
			L. Posthumius Albinus	
			T. Quintius Cincinnatus	Capitolium quadratum saxo fuit,
			Q. Seruilius Fidenas V.	structum à fundamentis usque
	3	367	TRIB. Q. Iulius Tullus	quadratis lapidibus.
			MIL. L. Aquilius Coruus	
			L. Lucretius Tricipitinus II.	
			Ser. Sulpitius Rufus II.	
			L. Papyrius Curtor	Cum annus esset à primo ut ait Dionysius notatus de Cornelium
	4	368	TRIB. Cn. Sergius Fidenas	iudicio hic ab eo qui exploratum num 25 tribuū. In Codice Liuij
			MIL. L. Aemylius Mamertinus II.	manu legitur 35 quod fuerit ultimo vel posse hoc ips
			Licinius Menenius Lanatus	Ex nomine hic prænomen factum. multos cōfecta sunt.
			L. Valerius Publicola III.	

c 4

3 Matronis romanis permissum, ut pilento ad sacra ludosque festo profestoque die uterentur.
9 Proditor ludimagister Faleriis pueris virgis cedendus[324] a Camillo urbem ipsorum obsidente traditur. Valisci[325] se dedunt.
12 Appollini Delphico crater aureus mittitur.
15 Ager Vegentanus[326] plebi rom[ani] divisus
17 Hic est Manlius, qui biennio post cum Galli urbem Romam cepissent et Capitolium circumsederent anser[327] excitatus, Gallos capitolium scandentes deiicit.[328] Sed ipse postea de eadem rupe, qua Gallos praecipites egit, deiectus propter regni suspitionem.
25 Hoc anno Camillus ob veientanam predam damnatus 15000 gravis aeris, hoc est 150 coronatis, in exilium abiit. Exemplum magnae ingratitudinis populi romani.
33 Camillus exul dictator factus, Gallos eiecit, qui Romam praeter Capitolium ceperant, quibus caesis honestum de eis duxit triumphum. Pater patriae ac secundus urbis conditor post Romulum dictus, inter romanos imperatores laudatissimus, nisi quod cum Gallis ob aurum, quod pro redemptione pendebatur, non satis syncere egisse dicatur.
36 Livius liber sextus.
41 Capitolium quadrato saxo substructum, .I.,[329] fundamenta iacta quadrato lapide.
47 Cum antea essent 21 tribus, ut ex Dionysio notatur[330] de Coriolani iudicio, hic adiectae quatuor explerunt num[erum] 25 tribuum. In codice Livii male legitur 35, quod fuerunt ultimo, sed post hoc tempus multae adiectae sunt.
52 366.) Quinto Fabio, quod contra ius gentium legatus, cum Gallis pugnasset, dies dicta est, sed is ante eum moritur. Dies nephasti[331] notatae.[332] Camillus iterum dictator de multis hostibus triumphat.

---

[324] Caedendus (as in the Paris Copy).
[325] Falisci (as in the Paris Copy).
[326] Ager Veientanus (as in the Paris Copy).
[327] Ansere (as in the Paris Copy).
[328] Deiecit (as in the Paris Copy).
[329] Id est.
[330] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, VII, 64, 6.
[331] Should be "nefasti".
[332] Notatur (as in the Paris Copy).



Olympiades		Anni ab urbe cõ.	
			M.Furius Camillus V.
			Ser.Cornelius Maluginensis
99	1	369	TRIB. Q.Seruilius Fidenás VI.
			MIL. L.Quintius Cincinnatus
			L.Horatius Puluillus
			P.Valerius Potitus
			A.Manlius Capitolinus II.
			TRIB.P.Cornelius
	2	370	MIL. T.Quintius Capitolinus
			L.Quintius Capitolinus
			L.Papyrius Cursor II.
			Ser.Cornelius Maluginensis II.
			P.Valerius Potitus II.
	3	371	TRIB.M.Furius Camillus VI.
			MIL. Ser.Sulpitius Rufus III.
			C.Papyrius Crassus
			T.Quintius Cincinnatus II.
			L.Valerius Publicola IIII.
			A.Manlius Capitolinus III.
	4	372	TRIB.Ser.Sulpitius Rufus IIII.
			MIL.L.Lucretius Tricipitinus III.
			L.Aemylius Mamertinus III.
			M.Trebonius Flauus
			Sp.Papyrius
			L.Papyrius
100	1	373	TRIB. Ser.Cornelius Maluginensis III.
			MIL. Q.Seruilius Fidenás
			C.Sulpitius Peticus
			L.Aemylius Mamertinus IIII.
			M.Furius Camillus VII.
			A.Posthumius Regillensis
	2	374	TRIB.L.Posthumius Regillensis
			MIL.L.Furius Medullinus
			L.Lucretius Tricipitinus IIII.
			M.Fabius Ambustus
			L.Valerius Publicola V.
			P.Valerius Potitus III.
	3	375	TRIB.Cn.Sergius Fidenás III.
			MIL.Licinius Menenius Lanatus II.
			P.Papyrius
			Ser.Cornelius Maluginensis IIII.
			P.Manlius Capitolinus
			C.Manlius Capitolinus
	4	376	TRIB.L.Iulius Tullus
			MIL.C.Sextilius
			M.Albinus
			L.Antistius

Hos duos Papyrios Liuius ait nouos Trib.mil. quare nos nullum apposuimus numerum.

Huius Cornelij cognomen bis antea omissum, annis 361. & 366.

Videtur autem hoc anno omissum nomẽ Cn.

Sergij Fidenatis, qui anno 375. fit tertium Tribunus mil. sed primum anno 368.

M.Manlius de saxo Tarpeio deiectus.

Gellius lib. 17. cap. 12. ait hoc anno natum Aristotelem.

Hic Furius iuuenis cũ Camillo certamẽ susceptt.

His septimũ Trib. quidã adijciũt L.

Valeriũ Potitum IIII. at Liuius non habet.

Hic Cn.Sergius primũ fit trib.mil. anno 368.

iterũ anno 370. hoc autẽ loco III.

Hic Papyrius alter (atq; ita omnes habent Luij codices. est ex ijs qui anno 373. quanquã prænomen uariat.

Plebei hi tres

3 Hoc anno natus Aristoteles ut refert Diog[enes] Laertius lib. 5 de vita philosophorum.[333]

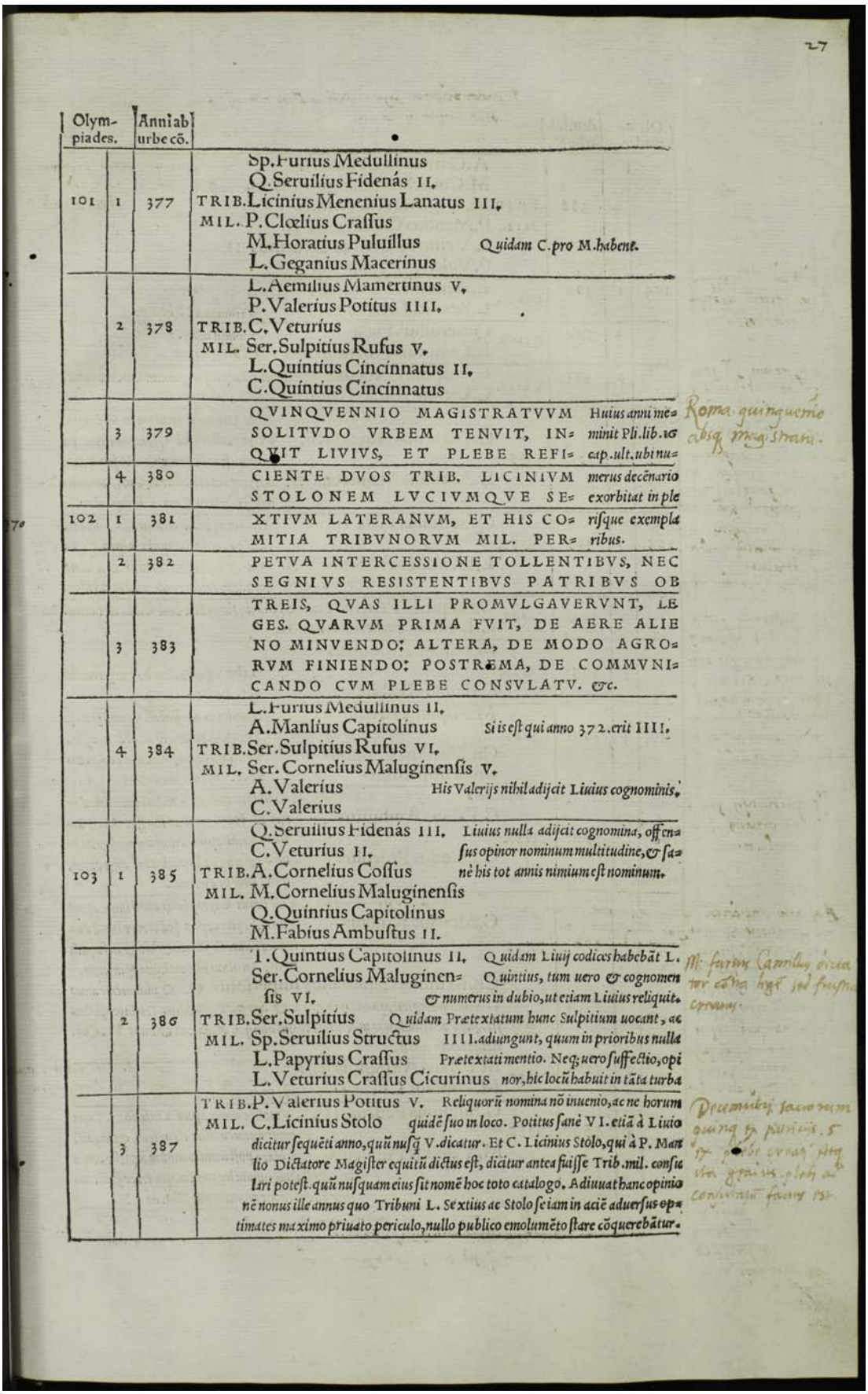
5 Bellum in Hetruria et Volscis gestum.

9 Marcus Manlius gravem seditionem excitat Rome, sed dictator A. Cornelius Cossus eum in carcerem coniecit.

33 Magna et hoc anno Camilli modestia fortitudo et patientia apud Livium predicatur.

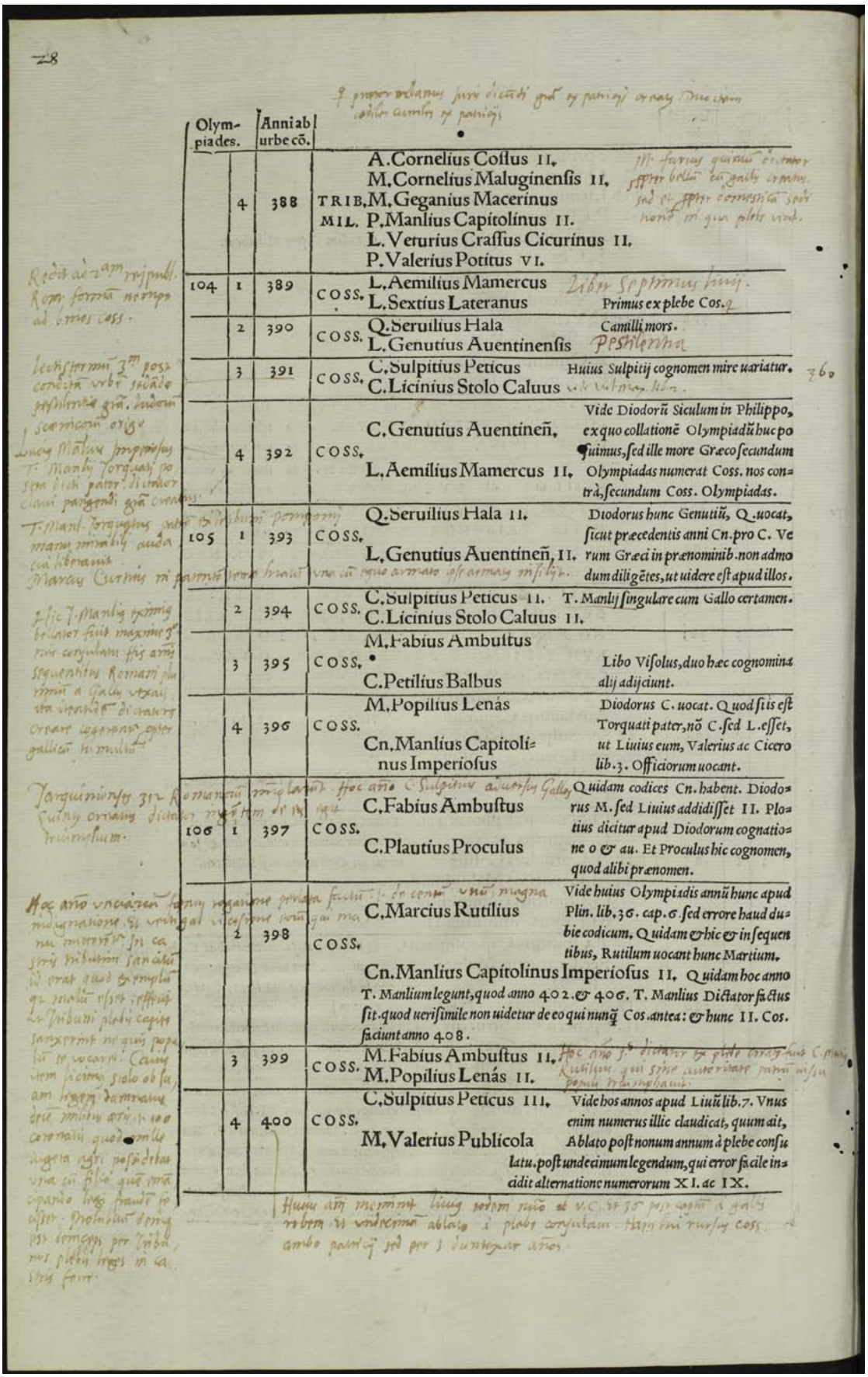
39 T. Quintii Cincinnati dictatoris magna hoc anno gloria bello parta.

[333] Diogenes Laertius V, 7.



Olympiades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.	
			Sp. Furius Medullinus
			Q. Seruilius Fidenás II.
101	1	377	TRIB. Licinius Menenius Lanatus III.
			MIL. P. Cloelius Craſſus
			M. Horatius Puluillus *Quidam C. pro M. habent.*
			L. Geganius Macerinus
			L. Aemilius Mamertinus V.
			P. Valerius Potitus IIII.
	2	378	TRIB. C. Veturius
			MIL. Ser. Sulpitius Rufus V.
			L. Quintius Cincinnatus II.
			C. Quintius Cincinnatus
			QVINQVENNIO MAGISTRATVVM *Huius anni me=*
	3	379	SOLITVDO VRBEM TENVIT, IN= *minit Pli. lib. 16*
			QVIT LIVIVS, ET PLEBE REFI= *cap. ult. ubi nu=*
	4	380	CIENTE DVOS TRIB. LICINIVM *merus decẽnario*
			STOLONEM LVCIVMQVE SE= *exorbitat in ple*
102	1	381	XTIVM LATERANVM, ET HIS CO= *risque exempla*
			MITIA TRIBVNORVM MIL. PER= *ribus.*
	2	382	PETVA INTERCESSIONE TOLLENTIBVS, NEC
			SEGNIVS RESISTENTIBVS PATRIBVS OB
			TREIS, QVAS ILLI PROMVLGAVERVNT, LE
			GES. QVARVM PRIMA FVIT, DE AERE ALIE
	3	383	NO MINVENDO: ALTERA, DE MODO AGRO=
			RVM FINIENDO: POSTREMA, DE COMMVNI=
			CANDO CVM PLEBE CONSVLATV. *&c.*
			L. Furius Medullinus II.
			A. Manlius Capitolinus *Si is eſt qui anno 372. erit IIII.*
	4	384	TRIB. Ser. Sulpitius Rufus VI.
			MIL. Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis V.
			A. Valerius *His Valerijs nihil adijcit Liuius cognominis.*
			C. Valerius
			Q. Seruilius Fidenás III. *Liuius nulla adijcit cognomina, offen=*
			C. Veturius II. *ſus opinor nominum multitudine, & fa=*
103	1	385	TRIB. A. Cornelius Coſſus *nè his tot annis nimium eſt nominum.*
			MIL. M. Cornelius Maluginenſis
			Q. Quintius Capitolinus
			M. Fabius Ambuſtus II.
			T. Quintius Capitolinus II. *Quidam Liuij codices habebãt L.*
			Ser. Cornelius Maluginen= *Quintius, tum uero & cognomen*
			ſis VI. *& numerus in dubio, ut etiam Liuius reliquit.*
	2	386	TRIB. Ser. Sulpitius *Quidam Prætextatum hunc Sulpitium uocant, ac*
			MIL. Sp. Seruilius Structus IIII. *adiungunt, quum in prioribus nulla*
			L. Papyrius Craſſus *Prætextati mentio. Neq; uero ſuffectio, opi*
			L. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus *nor, hic locũ habuit in tãta turba*
			TRIB. P. Valerius Potitus V. *Reliquorũ nomina nõ inuenio, ac ne horum*
			MIL. C. Licinius Stolo *quidẽ ſuo in loco. Potitus ſanè VI. etiã à Liuio*
	3	387	*dicitur ſequẽti anno, quũ nuſq; V. dicatur. Et C. Licinius Stolo, qui à P. Mar=*
			lio Dictatore Magiſter equitũ dictus eſt, dicitur antea fuiſſe Trib. mil. conſu=
			lari poteſt. quũ nuſquam eius ſit nomẽ hoc toto catalogo. Adiuuat hanc opinio=
			nẽ nonus ille annus quo Tribuni L. Sextius ac Stolo ſeiam in acie aduerſus op=
			timates maximo priuato periculo, nullo publico emolumẽto ſtare cõquerebãtur.

15 Roma quinquennio absque magistratu.
41 M. Furius Camillus dictator contra legem sed frustra creatus.
48 Decemviri sacrorum quinque ex patriciis, 5 ex plebe creati. Atque ita gradus plebi ad consulatum factus est.



Olympiades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.	
	4	388	A. Cornelius Cossus II. M. Cornelius Maluginensis II. TRIB. M. Geganius Macerinus MIL. P. Manlius Capitolinus II. L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus II. P. Valerius Potitus VI.
104	1	389	COSS. L. Aemilius Mamercus L. Sextius Lateranus — Primus ex plebe Cos.
	2	390	COSS. Q. Seruilius Hala — Camilli mors. L. Genutius Auentinensis
	3	391	COSS. C. Sulpitius Peticus — Huius Sulpitij cognomen mire uariatur. C. Licinius Stolo Caluus
	4	392	C. Genutius Auentineñ, — Vide Diodorũ Siculum in Philippo, ex quo collationẽ Olympiadũ huc po ſuimus, ſed ille more Græco ſecundum COSS. L. Aemilius Mamercus II. — Olympiadas numerat Coss. nos con trà, ſecundum Coss. Olympiadas.
105	1	393	Q. Seruilius Hala II. — Diodorus hunc Genutiũ, Q. uocat, ſicut præcedentis anni Cn. pro C. Ve COSS. L. Genutius Auentineñ, II. — rum Græci in prænominib. non admo dum diligẽtes, ut uidere eſt apud illos.
	2	394	COSS. C. Sulpitius Peticus II. — T. Manlij ſingulare cum Gallo certamen. C. Licinius Stolo Caluus II.
	3	395	M. Fabius Ambuſtus COSS. — Libo Viſolus, duo hæc cognomina C. Petilius Balbus — alij adijciunt.
	4	396	M. Popilius Lenas — Diodorus C. uocat. Quod ſi is eſt COSS. — Torquati pater, nõ C. ſed L. eſſet, Cn. Manlius Capitoli nus Imperioſus — ut Liuius eum, Valerius ac Cicero lib. 3. Officiorum uocant.
106	1	397	C. Fabius Ambuſtus — Quidam codices Cn. habent. Diodo rus M. ſed Liuius addidiſſet II. Plo tius dicitur apud Diodorum cognitio ne o & au. Et Proculus hic cognomen, quod alibi prænomen. COSS. C. Plautius Proculus
	2	398	C. Marcius Rutilius — Vide huius Olympiadis annũ hunc apud Plin. lib. 36. cap. 6 ſed errore haud du bie codicum. Quidam & hic & in ſequen tibus, Rutilum uocant hunc Martium. COSS. Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperioſus II. — Quidam hoc anno T. Manlium legunt, quod anno 402. & 406. T. Manlius Dictator factus ſit. quod ueriſimile non uidetur de eo qui nunq̃ Cos. antea: & hunc II. Cos. faciunt anno 408.
	3	399	M. Fabius Ambuſtus II. COSS. M. Popilius Lenas II.
	4	400	C. Sulpitius Peticus III. — Vide hos annos apud Liuũ lib. 7. Vnus enim numerus illic claudicat, quum ait, Ablato poſt nonum annum à plebe conſu latu. poſt undecimum legendum, qui error facile in cidit alternatione numerorum XI. ac IX. COSS. M. Valerius Publicola

q[334] praetor urbanus iuris dicundi gratia ex patriciis creatus. Duo item codiles[335] cuniles[336] ex patriciis

M[arcus] Furius quintum[337] dictator propter bellum cum Gallis creatus, sed et propter domesticam seditionem in qua plebs vicit.

Liber septimus Livii.

Redit ad secundam reipubl[icae] rom[anae] formam nempe ad binos consules.

Pestilentia[338]

Lectisternium tertium post conditam urbem sedandae pestilentie gratia.[339] Ludorum scenicorum origo[340]

vide Val[erium] Max[imum] lib. 2.[341]

Lucius Manlius Imperiosus T[iti] Manlii Torquati postea dicti pater, dictator clavi pangendi gratia creatus.[342]

T. Manl[ius] Torquatus patrem ex tribuni Pomponii manu mirabili audacia liberavit.[343]

Marcus Curtius in patentem terrae hiatum una cum equo armato ipse armatus insiliit.[344]

Hic T. Manlius eximius bellator fuit,[345] maxime tertio eius consulatu. His annis sequentibus Romani plurimum a Gallis vexati, ita [ut][346] itentidem[347] dictatores creare cogerentur propter gallicum tumultum.

Tarquinienses 312 Romanorum immolarunt.[348] Hoc anno C. Sulpitius adversus Gallos quintus creatus dictator, ingentem de eis egit triumphum.

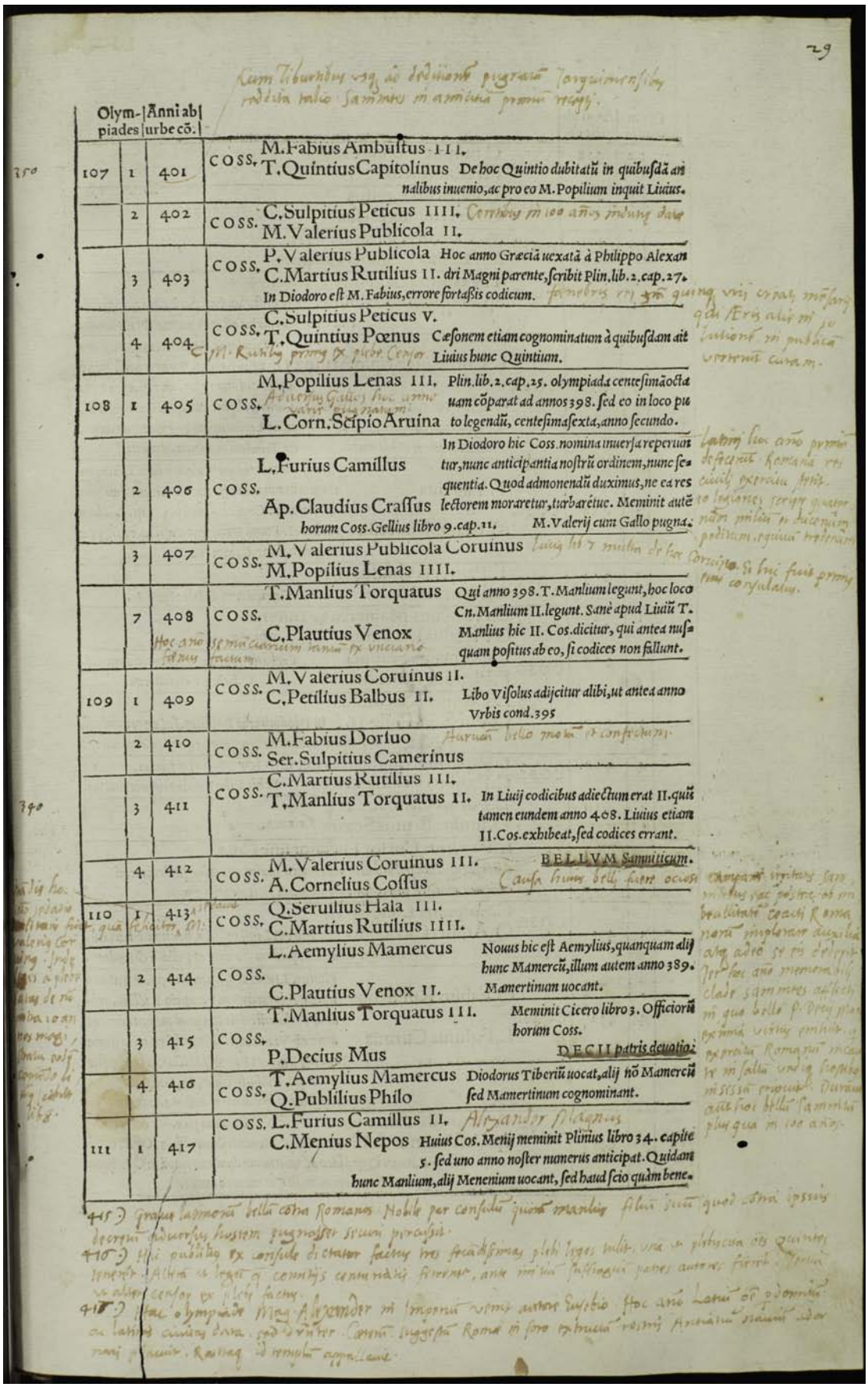
Hoc anno unciarium fenus rogatione perlata factum[349] .I.[350] de centum unum magna [patrum][351] indignatione. Et vectigal vicesime eorum, qui manu mitterentur. In castris tributini sancitum id erat, quod exemplum, quia malum esset, effecit, ut tribuni plebis capite sanxerint, ne quis populum se vocaret.[352] Caius item Licinius Stolo ob suam legem damnatus decem milibus aeris, .I.[353] 100 coronatis, quod mille iugera agri possidebat una cum filio, quem emancipando legi, fraudem fecisset.[354] Prohibitum denique est deinceps per tribunos plebis leges in castris ferre.

Hoc anno primus dictator ex plebe creatus fuit C. Martius Rutilius, qui sine autoritate patrum iussu populi triumphavit.

Huius anni meminit Livius[355] eodem numero ab v. c.[356] et 36 post captum a Gallis urbem. Et undecimum ablato a plebe consulatu. Nam hic rursus consules ambo patricii, sed per 3 duntaxat[357] annos.

---

[334] The letter "q" refers to line 10: "L. Sextius Lateranus. Primus ex plebe consul."
[335] Aediles (as in the Paris Copy).
[336] Curules (as in the Paris Copy). Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 1, 1.
[337] Quintus.
[338] Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 2, 1.
[339] *Idem*, VII, 2, 2.
[340] *Idem*, VII, 2, 3.
[341] Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, II, 4, 4.
[342] Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 3, 4.
[343] *Idem*, VII, 5, 1–9.
[344] *Idem*, VII, 6, 1–5.
[345] *Idem*, VII, 10, 1–14.
[346] As in the Paris Copy.
[347] Identidem.
[348] Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 15, 10. In modern editions of Livy the passage refers to the sacrifice of 307 Romans.
[349] *Idem*, VII, 16, 1.
[350] Id est.
[351] As in the Paris Copy.
[352] This information neither in Livy nor in Dionysius.
[353] Id est.
[354] Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 16, 9.
[355] *Idem*, VII, 18.
[356] Urbe condita.
[357] Dumtaxat.



Olympiades		Anni ab urbe cõ.	
107	1	401	COSS. M.Fabius Ambustus III. T.Quintius Capitolinus — De hoc Quintio dubitatũ in quibuſdã annalibus inuenio, ac pro eo M.Popilium inquit Liuius.
	2	402	COSS. C.Sulpitius Peticus IIII. M.Valerius Publicola II.
	3	403	COSS. P.Valerius Publicola — Hoc anno Græciã uexatã à Philippo Alexandri Magni parente, ſcribit Plin.lib.2.cap.27. C.Martius Rutilius II. In Diodoro eſt M.Fabius, errore fortaſsis codicum.
	4	404	COSS. C.Sulpitius Peticus V. T.Quintius Pœnus — Cæſonem etiam cognominatum à quibuſdam ait Liuius hunc Quintium.
108	1	405	COSS. M.Popilius Lenas III. L.Corn.Scipio Aruina — Plin.lib.2.cap.25. olympiada centeſimãoctauam cõparat ad annos 398. ſed eo in loco puto legendũ, centeſimaſexta, anno ſecundo.
	2	406	COSS. L.Furius Camillus Ap.Claudius Craſſus — In Diodoro hic Coss.nomina inuerſa reperiuntur, nunc anticipantia noſtrũ ordinem, nunc ſequentia. Quod admonendũ duximus, ne ea res lectorem moraretur, turbaretue. Meminit autẽ horum Coss.Gellius libro 9.cap.11. M.Valerij cum Gallo pugna.
	3	407	COSS. M.Valerius Publicola Coruinus M.Popilius Lenas IIII.
	7	408	COSS. T.Manlius Torquatus C.Plautius Venox — Qui anno 398. T.Manlium legunt, hoc loco Cn.Manlium II.legunt. Sanè apud Liuiũ T.Manlius hic II. Cos.dicitur, qui antea nuſquam poſitus ab eo, ſi codices non falluunt.
109	1	409	COSS. M.Valerius Coruinus II. C.Petilius Balbus II. — Libo Viſolus adijcitur alibi, ut antea anno Vrbis cond.395
	2	410	COSS. M.Fabius Dorſuo Ser.Sulpitius Camerinus
	3	411	COSS. C.Martius Rutilius III. T.Manlius Torquatus II. — In Liuij codicibus adiectum erat II. quũ tamen eundem anno 408. Liuius etiam II.Cos.exhibeat, ſed codices errant.
	4	412	COSS. M.Valerius Coruinus III. A.Cornelius Coſſus — BELLVM Samniticum.
110	1	413	COSS. Q.Seruilius Hala III. C.Martius Rutilius IIII.
	2	414	COSS. L.Aemylius Mamercus C.Plautius Venox II. — Nouus hic eſt Aemylius, quanquam alij hunc Mamercũ, illum autem anno 389. Mamertinum uocant.
	3	415	COSS. T.Manlius Torquatus III. P.Decius Mus — Meminit Cicero libro 3. Officiorũ horum Coss. DECII patris deuotio.
	4	416	COSS. T.Aemylius Mamercus Q.Publilius Philo — Diodorus Tiberiũ uocat, alij nõ Mamercũ ſed Mamertinum cognominant.
111	1	417	COSS. L.Furius Camillus II. C.Menius Nepos — Huius Cos. Menij meminit Plinius libro 34. capite 5. ſed uno anno noſter numerus anticipat. Quidam hunc Manlium, alij Menenium uocant, ſed haud ſcio quàm bene.

Top of the page: Cum Tiburtibus usque ad deditionem pugnatum. Tarquiniensibus reddita talio. Samnites in amicitiam primum recepti.[358]

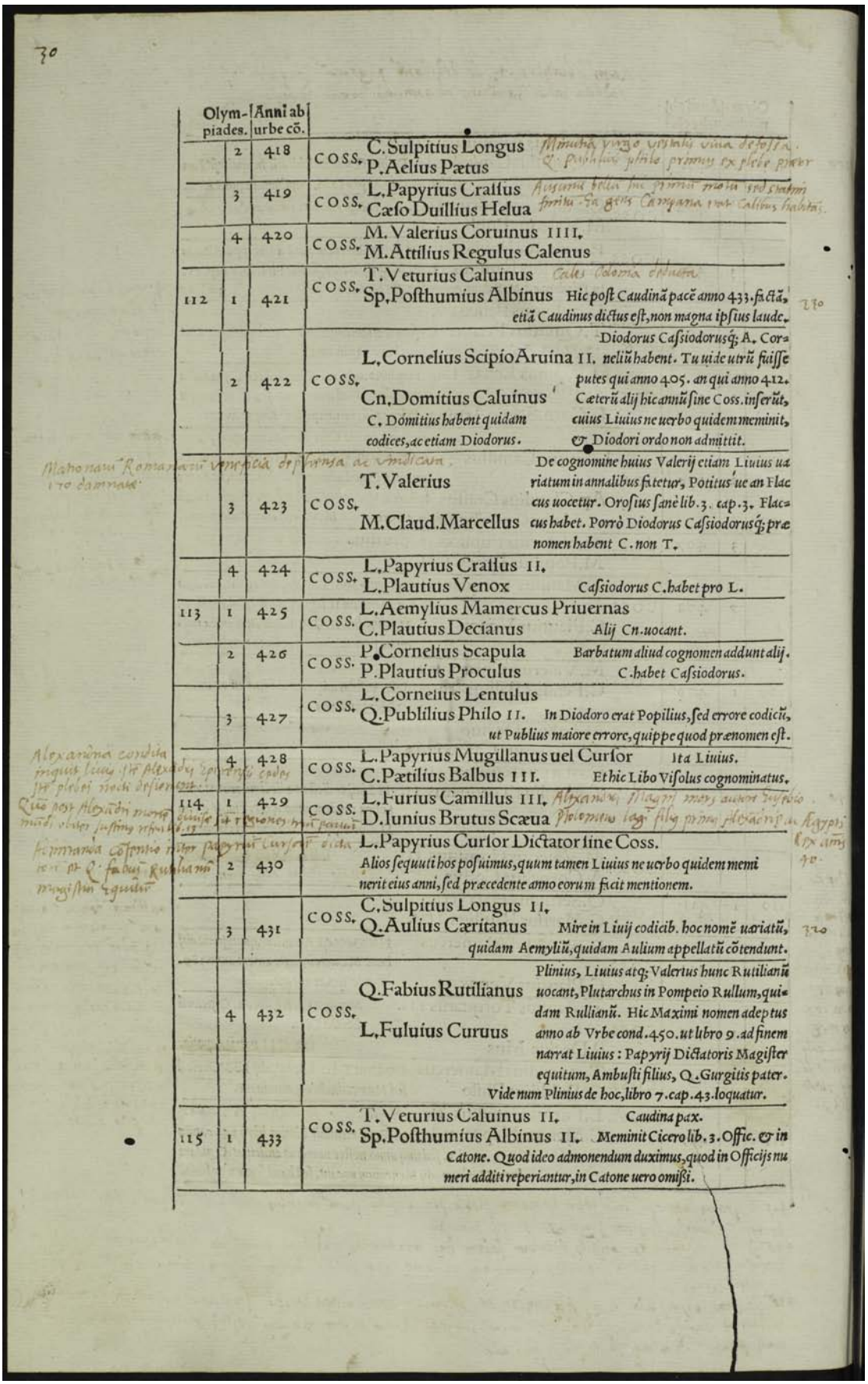
6 Ceretibus in 100 annos indutie datae.[359]
10 Faenebris rei gratia quinqueviri creati mensarii, qui aeris alieni solutionem in publicam verterunt curam.[360]
13 C.M. Rutilius primus ex plebe censor.[361]
15 Adversus Gallos hoc anno varie pugnatum.
17 Latini hoc anno primum defecerunt. Romana res civili exercitu stetit. 10 legiones scripte quaternum milium et ducenum peditum. Equitum tredenum.[362]
22 Livius lib. 7 multa de hoc Corvino. Et hic fuit primus eius consulatus.
27 Hoc anno semunciarium tantum ex unciario faenus factum.[363]
31 Aurucam[364] bello motum et confectum.
38 Causa huius belli fuere ociosi[365] campani irritatis Samnitibus, ac postea ob imbecillitatem coacti Romanorum implorare[366] auxilia atque adeo se eis dederit.[367] Ter hoc anno memorabili clade Samnites afflicti, in quo bello P. Decii Muris eximia virtus enituit, qui exercitum romanum incaute in saltum undique hostibus incessum eripuit.[368] Duravit autem hoc bellum Samnitum plus quam in 100 annos.
38 Grandis hoc anno sedatio[369] militaris fuit, quam feliciter sedavit M. Valerius Corvinus. Inde leges a plebe latas de non intra 10 annos magistratu eodem capiendo. Livius scribit.[370] [Livius] lib. 8. [hic incipit].[371]
49 Alexander Magnus

Bottom of the page:
415.) Grave Latinorum bellum contra Romanos. Nobile par consulum, quorum Manlius filium suum, quod contra ipsius decretum adversus hostem pugnasset, securi percussit.

416.) Hic Publilius ex consule dictator factus, tres fecundissimas[372] plebi leges tulit: unam, ut plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent. Alteram, ut legum, quae comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, ante initium suffragium patres autores fierent. Tertiam, ut alter censor ex plebe factus.

417.) Haec Olympiade Mag. Alexander in imperium venit autore Eusebio.[373] Hoc anno Latium omne perdomitum ac Latinis civitas data, sed differenter. Caeterum suggestum Romae in foro extructum[374] rostris Antiatium navium adornari placuit, rostraque id templum appellavit.[375]

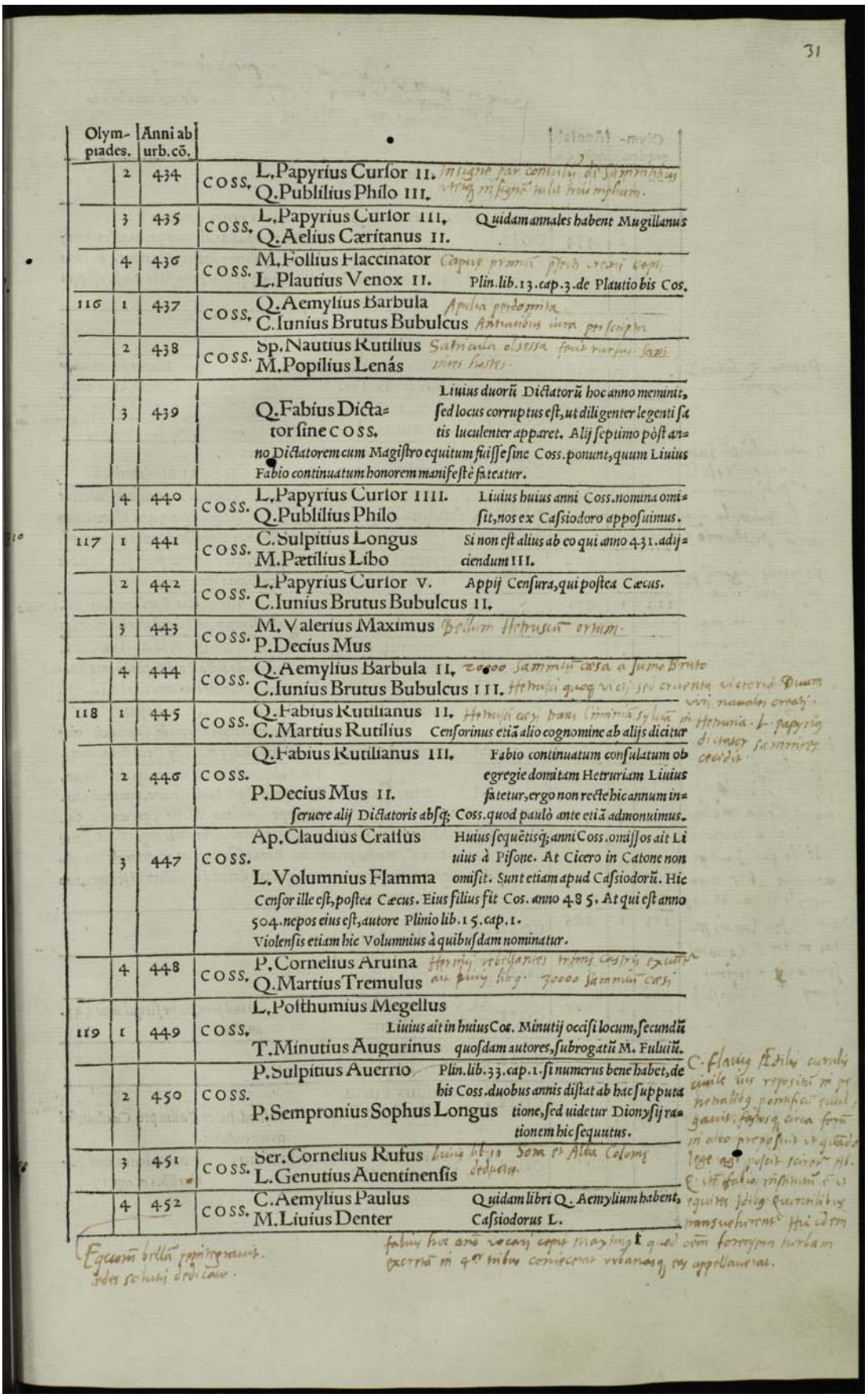
358 Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 19, 1–4.
359 *Idem*, VII, 20, 8.
360 *Idem*, VII, 21, 7 f.
361 *Idem*, VII, 22, 7 f.
362 Trecenum. Cf. Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 25, 5–8.
363 Quotation from Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 27, 3.
364 Auruncum bellum, cf. Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 28, 1.
365 Otiosi (as in the Paris copy).
366 Implorarunt (as in the Paris Copy).
367 Dedere (as in the Paris Copy).
368 Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 34, 7–VII, 36, 13.
369 Seditio (as in the Paris Copy).
370 Livy, *Roman history*, VII, 42, 2.
371 As in the Paris Copy.
372 Secundissimas, cf. Livy, *Roman history*, VIII, 12, 14–16.
373 Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicle*, a. Abr. 1650.
374 Exstructum (as in the Paris Copy).
375 Appellatum (as in the Paris Copy). Cf. Livy, *Roman history*, VIII, 14, 12.



Olympiades.	Anni ab urbe cõ.		
	2 418	COSS.	C. Sulpitius Longus P. Aelius Pætus
	3 419	COSS.	L. Papyrius Crassus Cæso Duillius Helua
	4 420	COSS.	M. Valerius Coruinus IIII. M. Attilius Regulus Calenus
112	1 421	COSS.	T. Veturius Caluinus Sp. Posthumius Albinus — Hic post Caudinã pacẽ anno 433. factã, etiã Caudinus dictus est, non magna ipsius laude.
	2 422	COSS.	L. Cornelius Scipio Aruina II. Cn. Domitius Caluinus C. Domitius habent quidam codices, ac etiam Diodorus. — Diodorus Cassiodorusq; A. Cornelium habent. Tu uide utrũ fuisse putes qui anno 405. an qui anno 412. Cæterũ alij hic annũ sine Coss. inserũt, cuius Liuius ne uerbo quidem meminit, & Diodori ordo non admittit.
	3 423	COSS.	T. Valerius M. Claud. Marcellus — De cognomine huius Valerij etiam Liuius uariatum in annalibus fatetur, Potitus ue an Flaccus uocetur. Orosius sanè lib. 3. cap. 3. Flaccus habet. Porrò Diodorus Cassiodorusq; prænomen habent C. non T.
	4 424	COSS.	L. Papyrius Crassus II. L. Plautius Venox — Cassiodorus C. habet pro L.
113	1 425	COSS.	L. Aemylius Mamercus Priuernas C. Plautius Decianus — Alij Cn. uocant.
	2 426	COSS.	P. Cornelius Scapula P. Plautius Proculus — Barbatum aliud cognomen addunt alij. C. habet Cassiodorus.
	3 427	COSS.	L. Cornelius Lentulus Q. Publilius Philo II. — In Diodoro erat Popilius, sed errore codicũ, ut Publius maiore errore, quippe quod prænomen est.
	4 428	COSS.	L. Papyrius Mugillanus uel Cursor C. Pætilius Balbus III. — Ita Liuius. Ethic Libo Visolus cognominatus.
114	1 429	COSS.	L. Furius Camillus III. D. Iunius Brutus Scæua
	2 430		L. Papyrius Cursor Dictator sine Coss. Alios sequuti hos posuimus, quum tamen Liuius ne uerbo quidem meminerit eius anni, sed præcedente anno eorum ficit mentionem.
	3 431	COSS.	C. Sulpitius Longus II. Q. Aulius Cæritanus — Mire in Liuij codicib. hoc nomẽ uariatũ, quidam Aemyliũ, quidam Aulium appellatũ cõtendunt.
	4 432	COSS.	Q. Fabius Rutilianus L. Fuluius Curuus — Plinius, Liuius atq; Valerius hunc Rutilianũ uocant, Plutarchus in Pompeio Rullum, quidam Rullianũ. Hic Maximi nomen adeptus anno ab Vrbe cond. 450. ut libro 9. ad finem narrat Liuius: Papyrij Dictatoris Magister equitum, Ambusti filius, Q. Gurgitis pater. Videndum Plinius de hoc, libro 7. cap. 43. loquatur.
115	1 433	COSS.	T. Veturius Caluinus II. — Caudina pax. Sp. Posthumius Albinus II. — Meminit Cicero lib. 3. Offic. & in Catone. Quod ideo admonendum duximus, quod in Officijs numeri additi reperiantur, in Catone uero omissi.

3 Minutia virgo vestalis vina defossa.
4 Quintus Publilius Philo primus ex plebe praetor.
5 Ausunum[376] bellum hic primum motum, sed statim finitum. Ea gens Campana erat Calibus habitans.
9 Cales Colonia deducta.
18 Matronarum Romanarum veneficia deprehensa ac vindicata, 170 damnatae.
32 Alexandria condita inquit Livius. Item Alexandri Epirensis cedes.[377] Item plebei necti desierunt.[378]
34 Alexandri Magni mors autore Eusebio.[379] Ptolomeus Lagi filius primus Alexandrie ac Aegypti rex annis 40.
35 Quomodo post Alexandri mortem divisae sint regiones trium partium mundi obiter Iustinus refert lib. 13[380]
36 Admiranda contentio inter Papyrium Cursorem dictatorem et Q. Fabium Rutilianum magistrum equitum.[381]

[376] Ausonum (as in the Paris Copy).
[377] Livy, *Roman history*, VIII, 24, 1.
[378] *Idem*, VIII, 28, 1.
[379] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicle*, Ol. 114.
[380] Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 13, 4.
[381] Livy, *Roman history*, VIII, 29, 9 f.



Olympiades.		Anni ab urb. cõ.		
	2	434	COSS.	L. Papyrius Cursor II. Q. Publilius Philo III.
	3	435	COSS.	L. Papyrius Cursor III. Q. Aelius Cæritanus II.
	4	436	COSS.	M. Follius Flaccinator L. Plautius Venox II.
116	1	437	COSS.	Q. Aemylius Barbula C. Iunius Brutus Bubulcus
	2	438	COSS.	Sp. Nautius Rutilius M. Popilius Lenas
	3	439		Q. Fabius Dictator sine COSS.
	4	440	COSS.	L. Papyrius Cursor IIII. Q. Publilius Philo
117	1	441	COSS.	C. Sulpitius Longus M. Pætilius Libo
	2	442	COSS.	L. Papyrius Cursor V. C. Iunius Brutus Bubulcus II.
	3	443	COSS.	M. Valerius Maximus P. Decius Mus
	4	444	COSS.	Q. Aemylius Barbula II. C. Iunius Brutus Bubulcus III.
118	1	445	COSS.	Q. Fabius Rutilianus II. C. Martius Rutilius
	2	446	COSS.	Q. Fabius Rutilianus III. P. Decius Mus II.
	3	447	COSS.	Ap. Claudius Crassus L. Volumnius Flamma
	4	448	COSS.	P. Cornelius Arvina Q. Martius Tremulus
119	1	449	COSS.	L. Posthumius Megellus T. Minutius Augurinus
	2	450	COSS.	P. Sulpitius Auerrio P. Sempronius Sophus Longus
	3	451	COSS.	Ser. Cornelius Rufus L. Genutius Auentinensis
	4	452	COSS.	C. Aemylius Paulus M. Liuius Denter

Liuius duorũ Dictatorũ hoc anno meminit, sed locus corruptus est, ut diligenter legenti satis luculenter apparet. Alij septimo pòst anno Dictatorem cum Magistro equitum fuisse sine Coss. ponunt, quum Liuius Fabio continuatum honorem manifestè fateatur.

Liuius huius anni Coss. nomina omisit, nos ex Cassiodoro apposuimus.

Si non est alius ab eo qui anno 431. adijciendum III.

Appij Censura, qui postea Cæcus.

Fabio continuatum consulatum ob egregie domitam Hetruriam Liuius fatetur, ergo non rectè hic annum inseruere alij Dictatoris absq; Coss. quod paulò ante etiã admonuimus.

Huius sequẽtisq; anni Coss. omissos ait Liuius à Pisone. At Cicero in Catone non omisit. Sunt etiam apud Cassiodorũ. Hic Censor ille est, postea Cæcus. Eius filius fit Cos. anno 485. At qui est anno 504. nepos eius est, autore Plinio lib. 15. cap. 1.
Violensis etiam hic Volumnius à quibusdam nominatur.

Plin. lib. 13. cap. 3. de Plautio bis Cos.

Liuius ait in huius Cos. Minutij occisi locum, secundũ quosdam autores, subrogatũ M. Fuluiũ.

Plin. lib. 33. cap. 1. si numerus bene habet, de his Coss. duobus annis distat ab hac supputatione, sed uidetur Dionysij rationem hic sequutus.

3 Insigne par consulum. De Samnitibus uterque insignem tulit triumphum.
7 Capue primum praefecti creari cepti.[382]
9 Apulia perdomita.
10 Antratibus[383] iura perscripta.
11 Satricula[384] obsessa fecit rursus Samnites hostes.
24 Bellum Hetruscum ortum.
26 20000 Samnitium caesa a Iunio Bruto.[385]
27 Hetrusci quoque victi, sed cruenta victoria. Duumviri navales creati.[386]
28 Hetrusci caesi trans Ciminiam sylvam in Hetruria.[387] L. Papyrius dictator Samnites cecidit.[388]
40 Hernici rebellantes trinis castris exuuntur ait Livius lib 9.[389] 30000 Samnitum caesi.[390]
45 C. Flavius aedilis curulis civile ius repositum in penetralibus pontificum, evulgavit fastosque circa forum in albo proposuit, ut, quando lege agi poscit,[391] sciretur. Ab Q[uinto] item Fabio institutum est, ut equites idibus Quintilibus transveherentur. Hic idem Fabius hoc anno vocari cepit Maximus, quod omnem forensem turbam excretam in 4^{or} tribus coniecerat urbanosque eos[392] appellaverat.
49 Livius lib. 10. Sora et Alba colonie deductae.[393]

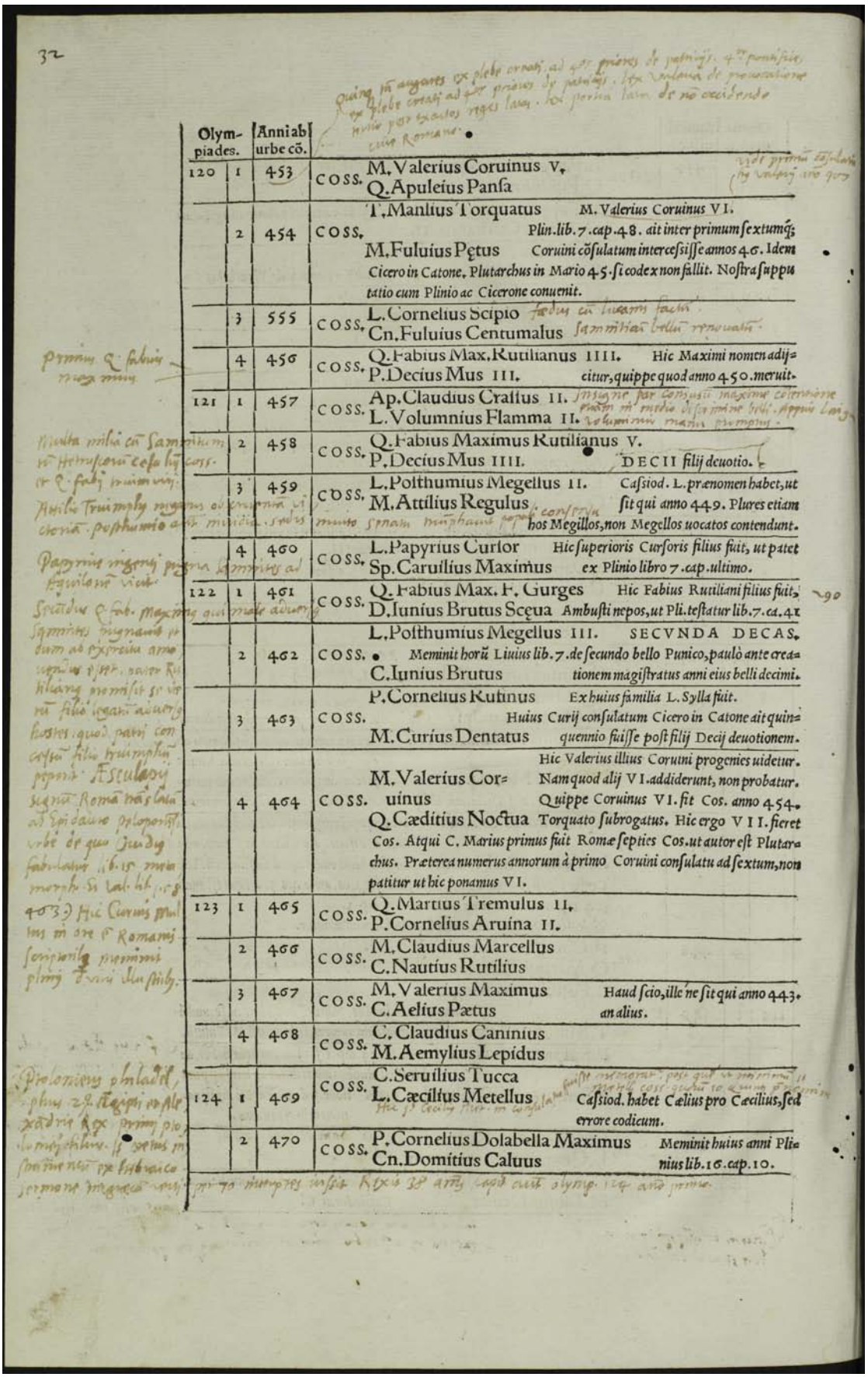
Bottom of the page:

Equorum[394] bellum reintegravit.

Aedes Salutis dedicatur.[395]

---

382 Coepti. Cf. Livy, *Roman history*, IX, 20, 5.
383 Antiatibus. Cf. Livy, *Roman history*, IX, 20, 10.
384 Saticula. Cf. Livy, *Roman history*, IX, 21, 2.
385 Livy, *Roman history*, IX, 31, 16.
386 *Idem*, IX, 30, 4.
387 *Idem*, IX, 39, 1–11.
388 *Idem*, IX, 40, 1–15.
389 *Idem*, IX, 43, 6.
390 *Idem*, IX, 43, 17.
391 Posset. Quotation from Livy, *Roman history*, IX, 46, 5.
392 Urbanasque eas. Cf. Livy, *Roman history*, IX, 46, 14 f.
393 Livy, Roman history, X, 1, 1.
394 Aequorum. Livy, *Roman history*, X, 1, 7.
395 *Idem*, X, 1, 9.



Olympiades.		Anniab urbe cõ.	
120	1	453	COSS. M. Valerius Coruinus V. Q. Apuleius Pansa
	2	454	COSS. T. Manlius Torquatus M. Valerius Coruinus VI. M. Fuluius Pętus — Plin. lib. 7. cap. 48. ait inter primum sextumq; Coruini cõsulatum interceſsiſſe annos 46. Idem Cicero in Catone, Plutarchus in Mario 45. ſi codex non fallit. Noſtra ſuppu tatio cum Plinio ac Cicerone conuenit.
	3	555	COSS. L. Cornelius Scipio Cn. Fuluius Centumalus
	4	456	COSS. Q. Fabius Max. Rutilianus IIII. P. Decius Mus III. — Hic Maximi nomen adij= citur, quippe quod anno 450. meruit.
121	1	457	COSS. Ap. Claudius Craſſus II. L. Volumnius Flamma II.
	2	458	COSS. Q. Fabius Maximus Rutilianus V. P. Decius Mus IIII. — DECII filij deuotio.
	3	459	COSS. L. Poſthumius Megellus II. M. Attilius Regulus — Caſsiod. L. prænomen habet, ut ſit qui anno 449. Plures etiam hos Megillos, non Megellos uocatos contendunt.
	4	460	COSS. L. Papyrius Curſor Sp. Caruilius Maximus — Hic ſuperioris Curſoris filius fuit, ut patet ex Plinio libro 7. cap. ultimo.
122	1	461	COSS. Q. Fabius Max. F. Gurges D. Iunius Brutus Sceua — Hic Fabius Rutiliani filius fuit, Ambuſti nepos, ut Pli. teſtatur lib. 7. ca. 41
	2	462	COSS. L. Poſthumius Megellus III. C. Iunius Brutus — SECVNDA DECAS. Meminit horũ Liuius lib. 7. de ſecundo bello Punico, paulò ante crea= tionem magiſtratus anni eius belli decimi.
	3	463	COSS. P. Cornelius Rutinus M. Curius Dentatus — Ex huius familia L. Sylla fuit. Huius Curij conſulatum Cicero in Catone ait quin= quennio fuiſſe poſt filij Decij deuotionem.
	4	464	COSS. M. Valerius Cor= uinus Q. Cæditius Noctua — Hic Valerius illius Coruini progenies uidetur. Nam quod alij VI. addiderunt, non probatur. Quippe Coruinus VI. fit Cos. anno 454. Torquato ſubrogatus. Hic ergo VII. fieret Cos. Atqui C. Marius primus fuit Romæ ſepties Cos. ut autor eſt Plutar= chus. Præterea numerus annorum à primo Coruini conſulatu ad ſextum, non patitur ut hic ponamus VI.
123	1	465	COSS. Q. Martius Tremulus II. P. Cornelius Aruina II.
	2	466	COSS. M. Claudius Marcellus C. Nautius Rutilius
	3	467	COSS. M. Valerius Maximus C. Aelius Pætus — Haud ſcio, ille ne ſit qui anno 443. an alius.
	4	468	COSS. C. Claudius Caninius M. Aemylius Lepidus
124	1	469	COSS. C. Seruilius Tucca L. Cæcilius Metellus — Caſsiod. habet Cælius pro Cæcilius, ſed errore codicum.
	2	470	COSS. P. Cornelius Dolabella Maximus Cn. Domitius Caluus — Meminit huius anni Pli= nius lib. 16. cap. 10.

At the top of the page: Quinque tum augures ex plebe creati, ad quatuor priores de patriciis. Quatuor pontifices ex plebe creati, ad quatuor priores de patriciis.[396] Lex Valeria de provocatione tertio post exactos reges latas.[397] Lex portia lata de non occidendo cive romano.[398]

3 Vide primum consulatum huius Valerii anno 407.

10 Foedus cum Lucanis factum.

11 Samnitiarum bellum renovatum.

12 Primus Q. Fabius Maximus.

14 Insigne par consulum maxime contentione etiam in medio discrimine belli. Appius lingua, Voluminius[399] manu promptus.

16 Multa milia cum[400] Samnitum[401] tum Hetruscorum caesa his consulibus et Q. Fabii triumviri.

19 Attilio triumphus negatus ob cruentam victoriam. Posthumio autem invidia, sed is invito senatu triumphavit populi consensu.[402]

22 Papyrius ingenti pugna Samnites ad Aquilonem[403] vicit.

24 Secundus Q. Fab[ius] Maximus, qui male adversus Samnites pugnavit et dum ab exercitu amovendus esset, pater Rutilianus promisit, se iterum[404] filio legatum adversus hostes, quod patri concessum filio triumphum peperit.

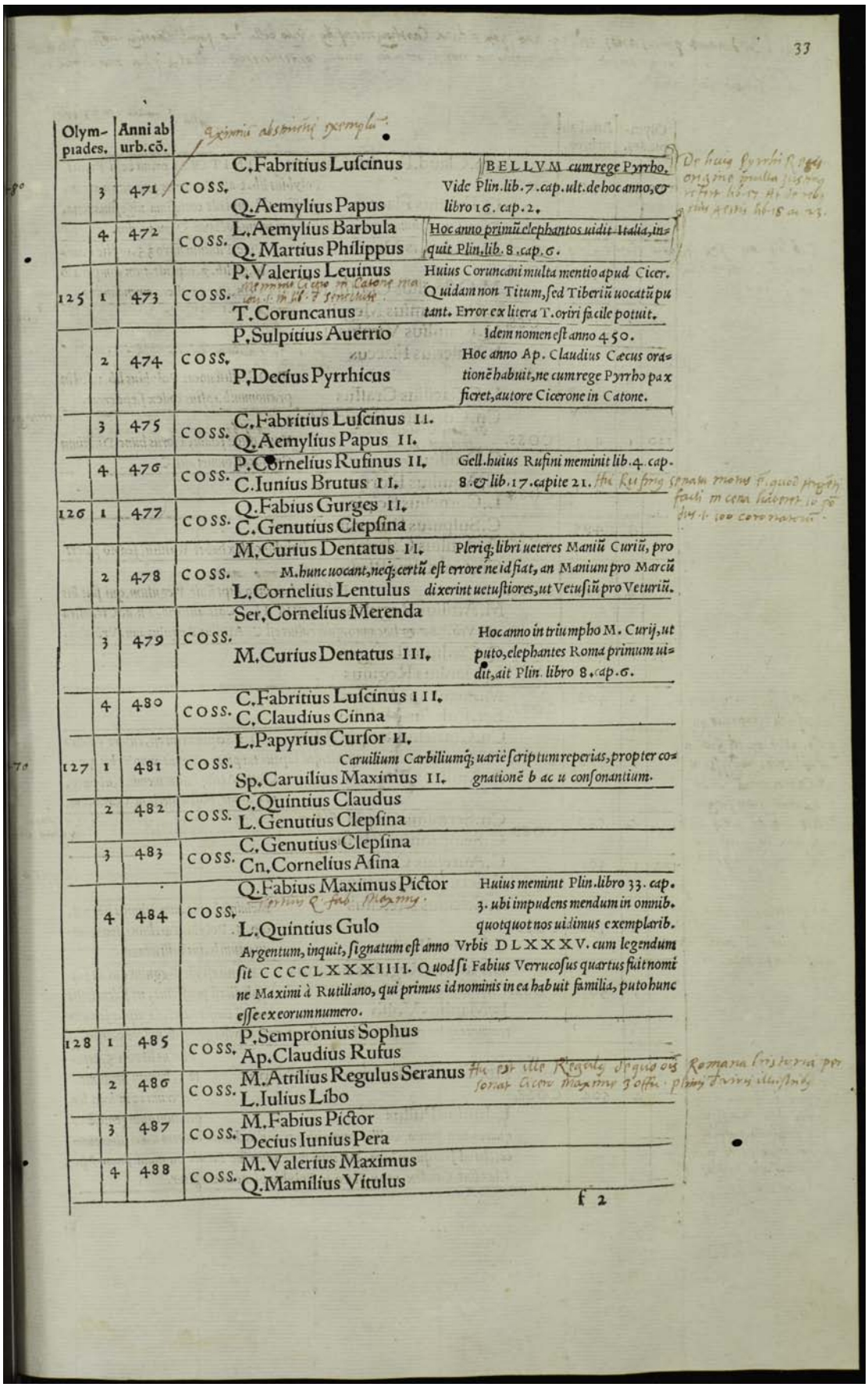
32 Aesculapii signum Romam translatum ab Epidauro Peloponensi urbe, de quo Ovidius fabulatur lib. 15 metamorph. Et Valerius lib. 1, c. 8[405]

38 463.) Hic Curius multus[406] in ore est romanis scriptoribus meminit Plinius de viris illustribus.[407]

46 Ptolomeus philadelphus 2^{us} [= secundus] Aegypti et Alexandrie rex primi Ptolomei filius. Is vetus instrumentum ex hebraico sermone in graecum verti per 70 interpretes iussit. Rex is 38 annis cepit[408] autem Olymp[iade] 124 anno primo.

48 Hic 1^{us} [= primus] Cecilius Met[ellus] in consulatu fuisse memoratur, post quem ut minimum 11 Metelli consules, quorum 10 Quinti prenomine.

396 Livy, *Roman history*, X, 6, 3–X, 9, 2.
397 Lata (as in the Paris Copy). Cf. Livy, *Roman history*, X, 9, 3.
398 Livy, *Roman history*, X, 9, 4.
399 Volumnius (as in the Paris Copy).
400 Tum (as in the Paris Copy).
401 Samnitium (as in the Paris Copy).
402 Livy, *Roman history*, X, 37, 6–12.
403 Aquiloniam. Cf. Livy, *Roman history*, X, 42, 5 und X, 44, 2.
404 Iturum. Cf. Livy, *Roman history*, XI, fragments.
405 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV, 626–744; Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, I, 9, 2.
406 Multis (as in the Paris Copy).
407 Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 33.
408 Coepit (as in the Paris Copy).



Olympiades.		Anni ab urb. cõ.		
	3	471	COSS.	C. Fabritius Luscinus Q. Aemylius Papus
	4	472	COSS.	L. Aemylius Barbula Q. Martius Philippus
125	1	473	COSS.	P. Valerius Leuinus T. Coruncanus
	2	474	COSS.	P. Sulpitius Auerrio P. Decius Pyrrhicus
	3	475	COSS.	C. Fabritius Luscinus II. Q. Aemylius Papus II.
	4	476	COSS.	P. Cornelius Rufinus II. C. Iunius Brutus II.
126	1	477	COSS.	Q. Fabius Gurges II. C. Genutius Clepsina
	2	478	COSS.	M. Curius Dentatus II. L. Cornelius Lentulus
	3	479	COSS.	Ser. Cornelius Merenda M. Curius Dentatus III.
	4	480	COSS.	C. Fabritius Luscinus III. C. Claudius Cinna
127	1	481	COSS.	L. Papyrius Cursor II. Sp. Caruilius Maximus II.
	2	482	COSS.	C. Quintius Claudus L. Genutius Clepsina
	3	483	COSS.	C. Genutius Clepsina Cn. Cornelius Asina
	4	484	COSS.	Q. Fabius Maximus Pictor L. Quintius Gulo
128	1	485	COSS.	P. Sempronius Sophus Ap. Claudius Rufus
	2	486	COSS.	M. Atrilius Regulus Seranus L. Iulius Libo
	3	487	COSS.	M. Fabius Pictor Decius Iunius Pera
	4	488	COSS.	M. Valerius Maximus Q. Mamilius Vitulus

BELLVM cum rege Pyrrho. Vide Plin. lib. 7. cap. ult. de hoc anno, & libro 16. cap. 2.

Hoc anno primũ elephantos uidit Italia, inquit Plin. lib. 8. cap. 6.

Huius Coruncani multa mentio apud Cicer. Quidam non Titum, sed Tiberiũ uocatũ putant. Error ex litera T. oriri facile potuit.

Idem nomen est anno 450.

Hoc anno Ap. Claudius Cæcus orationẽ habuit, ne cum rege Pyrrho pax fieret, autore Cicerone in Catone.

Gell. huius Rufini meminit lib. 4. cap. 8. & lib. 17. capite 21.

Pleriq; libri ueteres Maniũ Curiũ, pro M. hunc uocant, neq; certũ est errore ne id fiat, an Manium pro Marcũ dixerint uetustiores, ut Vetusiũ pro Veturiũ.

Hoc anno in triumpho M. Curij, ut puto, elephantes Roma primum uidit, ait Plin. libro 8. cap. 6.

Caruilium Carbiliumq; uariè scriptum reperias, propter cognationẽ b ac u consonantium.

Huius meminit Plin. libro 33. cap. 3. ubi impudens mendum in omnib. quotquot nos uidimus exemplarib. Argentum, inquit, signatum est anno Vrbis DLXXXV. cum legendum sit CCCCLXXXIIII. Quod si Fabius Verrucosus quartus fuit nomine Maximi à Rutiliano, qui primus id nominis in ea habuit familia, puto hunc esse ex eorum numero.

1 Eximium abstinentie exemplum.

3 De huius Pyrrhi Regis origine multa Iustinus refert lib[ro] 17.[409] At de rebus eius gestis lib[ris] 18 ac 23.

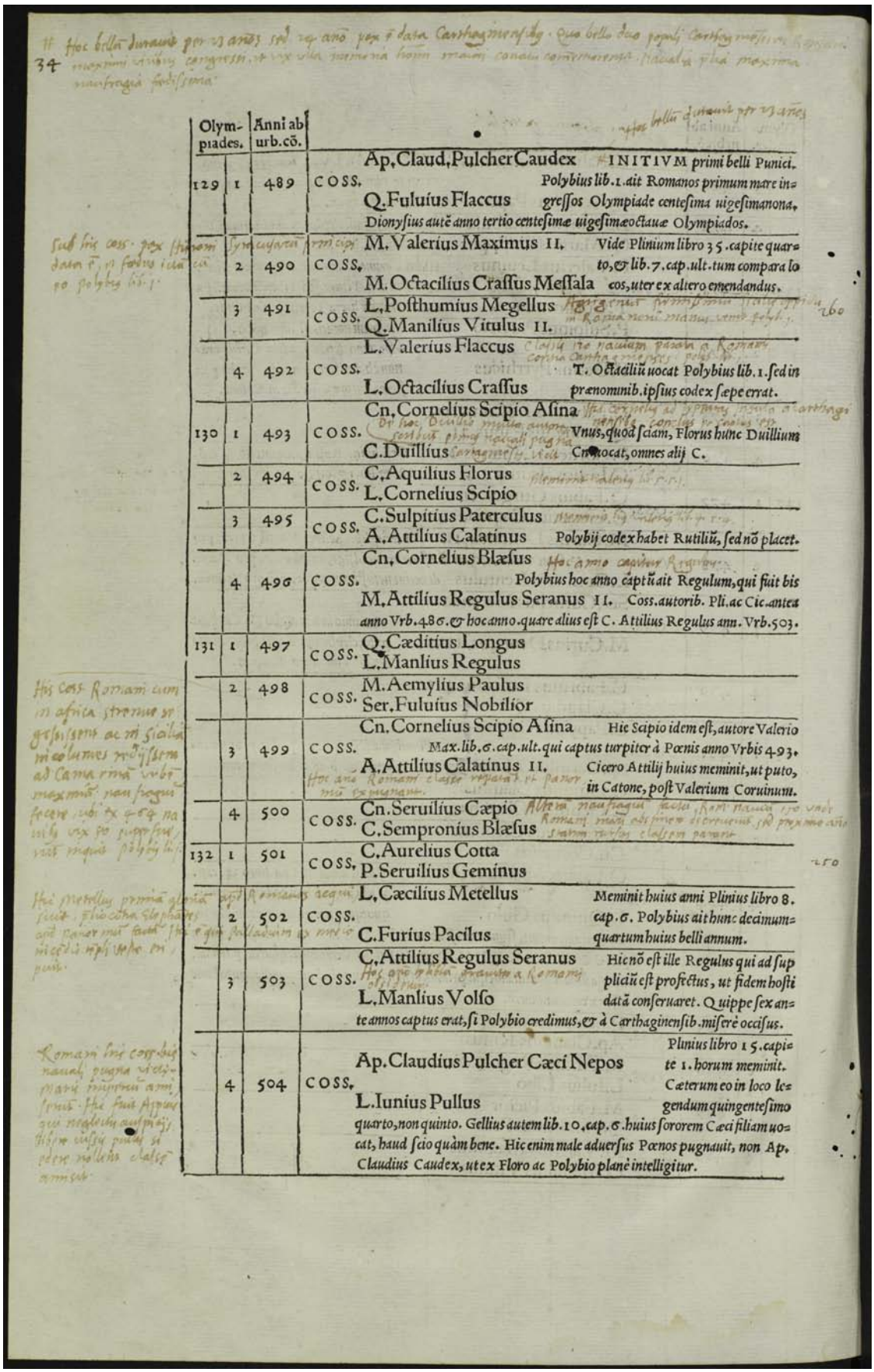
9 Meminit Cicero in Catone maiori .I.[410] in lib[ro] de senectute.[411]

18 Hic Rufinus senatu motus est, quod argenti facti in cena[412] haberet 10 pondus[413] .I.[414] 100 coronatorum.

38 Tertius Q[uintus] Fab[ius] Maximus.

46 Hic est ille Regulus, de quo omnis romana historia sonat. Cicero maxime 3 offic[iorum]. Et Plinius de viris illustribus.[415]

[409] Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 17, 3.
[410] Id est.
[411] Cicero, *De senectute*, 6, 15; 9, 27; 43, 43.
[412] Coenam (as in the Paris Copy).
[413] Pondera (as in the Paris Copy).
[414] Id est.
[415] Cicero, *De officiis*, III, 49, 102, 105, 108, 110, 113; Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 40.



Olympiades.		Anni ab urb.cõ.		
				Ap.Claud.Pulcher Caudex — INITIVM primi belli Punici.
129	1	489	COSS.	Polybius lib.1.ait Romanos primum mare ingressos Olympiade centesima uigesimanona,
				Q.Fuluius Flaccus — Dionysius autẽ anno tertio centesimæ uigesimæoctauæ Olympiados.
				M.Valerius Maximus II. — Vide Plinium libro 35.capite quarto,& lib.7.cap.ult.tum compara lo
	2	490	COSS.	M.Octacilius Crassus Messala — cos,uter ex altero emendandus.
	3	491	COSS.	L.Posthumius Megellus Q.Manilius Vitulus II.
				L.Valerius Flaccus
	4	492	COSS.	T. Octaciliũ uocat Polybius lib.1.sed in
				L.Octacilius Crassus — prænominib.ipsius codex sæpe errat.
				Cn.Cornelius Scipio Asina
130	1	493	COSS.	Vnus,quod sciam, Florus hunc Duillium
				C.Duillius — Cn.nocat,omnes alij C.
	2	494	COSS.	C.Aquilius Florus L.Cornelius Scipio
	3	495	COSS.	C.Sulpitius Paterculus A.Attilius Calatinus — Polybij codex habet Rutiliũ, sed nõ placet.
				Cn.Cornelius Blæsus
	4	496	COSS.	Polybius hoc anno captũ ait Regulum,qui fuit bis
				M.Attilius Regulus Seranus II. — Coss.autorib. Pli.ac Cic.antea
				anno Vrb.486.& hoc anno.quare alius est C. Attilius Regulus ann. Vrb.503.
131	1	497	COSS.	Q.Cæditius Longus L.Manlius Regulus
	2	498	COSS.	M.Aemylius Paulus Ser.Fuluius Nobilior
				Cn.Cornelius Scipio Asina — Hic Scipio idem est,autore Valerio
	3	499	COSS.	Max.lib.6.cap.ult.qui captus turpiter à Pœnis anno Vrbis 493.
				A.Attilius Calatinus II. — Cicero Attilij huius meminit,ut puto,
				in Catone, post Valerium Coruinum.
	4	500	COSS.	Cn.Seruilius Cæpio C.Sempronius Blæsus
132	1	501	COSS.	C.Aurelius Cotta P.Seruilius Geminus
				L.Cæcilius Metellus — Meminit huius anni Plinius libro 8.
	2	502	COSS.	cap.6. Polybius ait hunc decimum=
				C.Furius Pacilus — quartum huius belli annum.
				C.Attilius Regulus Seranus — Hic nõ est ille Regulus qui ad sup
	3	503	COSS.	pliciũ est profectus, ut fidem hosti
				L.Manlius Volso — datã conseruaret. Quippe sex an=
				te annos captus erat,si Polybio credimus,& à Carthaginensib.miserè occisus.
				Ap.Claudius Pulcher Cæci Nepos — Plinius libro 15.capite 1.horum meminit.
	4	504	COSS.	Cæterum eo in loco le=
				L.Iunius Pullus — gendum quingentesimo
				quarto,non quinto. Gellius autem lib.10.cap.6.huius sororem Cæci filiam uocat, haud scio quàm bene. Hic enim male aduersus Pœnos pugnauit, non Ap. Claudius Caudex, ut ex Floro ac Polybio planè intelligitur.

3 Hoc bellum duravit per 23 annos,[416] sed 24 anno pax est data Carthaginensibus. Quo bello duo populi Carthaginenses ac Romani maximis viribus congressi, ut vix ulla memoria hominum maiori conatu commemorentur. Navalia praelia maxima naufragia foedissima.

3 Hoc bellum duravit per 23 annos[417]

7 Sub his consulibus pax Hieroni Syracusarum principi data est, et foedus ictum cum eo Polybius lib. I.[418]

10 Agrigentum firmissimum Sicilie oppidu[419] in Romanorum manus venit. Polyb. 1.[420]

12 Classis 120 navium parata a Romanis contra Carthaginenses. Polyb. lib. 1.[421]

15 Hic Cornelius ad Lypparas[422] insulam a Carthaginensibus conclus[423] et captus est.[424]

16 De hoc Duillio multa autores scribunt. Primus navali pugna Carthaginenses vicit.[425]

18 Meminit Valerius lib. 5. c. 1.[426]

20 Meminit huius Valerius lib. 4. c. 4.[427]

22 Hoc anno capitur Regulus.

28 His consulibus Romani cum in Africa strenue se gessissent ac in Siciliam incolumes rediissent ad Camarinam urbem maximum naufragium fecere, ubi ex 464[428] navibus vix 80 superfuerunt, inquit Polybius lib. 1.[429]

33 Hoc anno Romani classem reparant et Panormum expugnant.[430]

34 Alterum naufragium factum. Romanorum navium 150, unde Romani mari abstinere decreverunt, sed proximo anno statim rursus classem parant.[431]

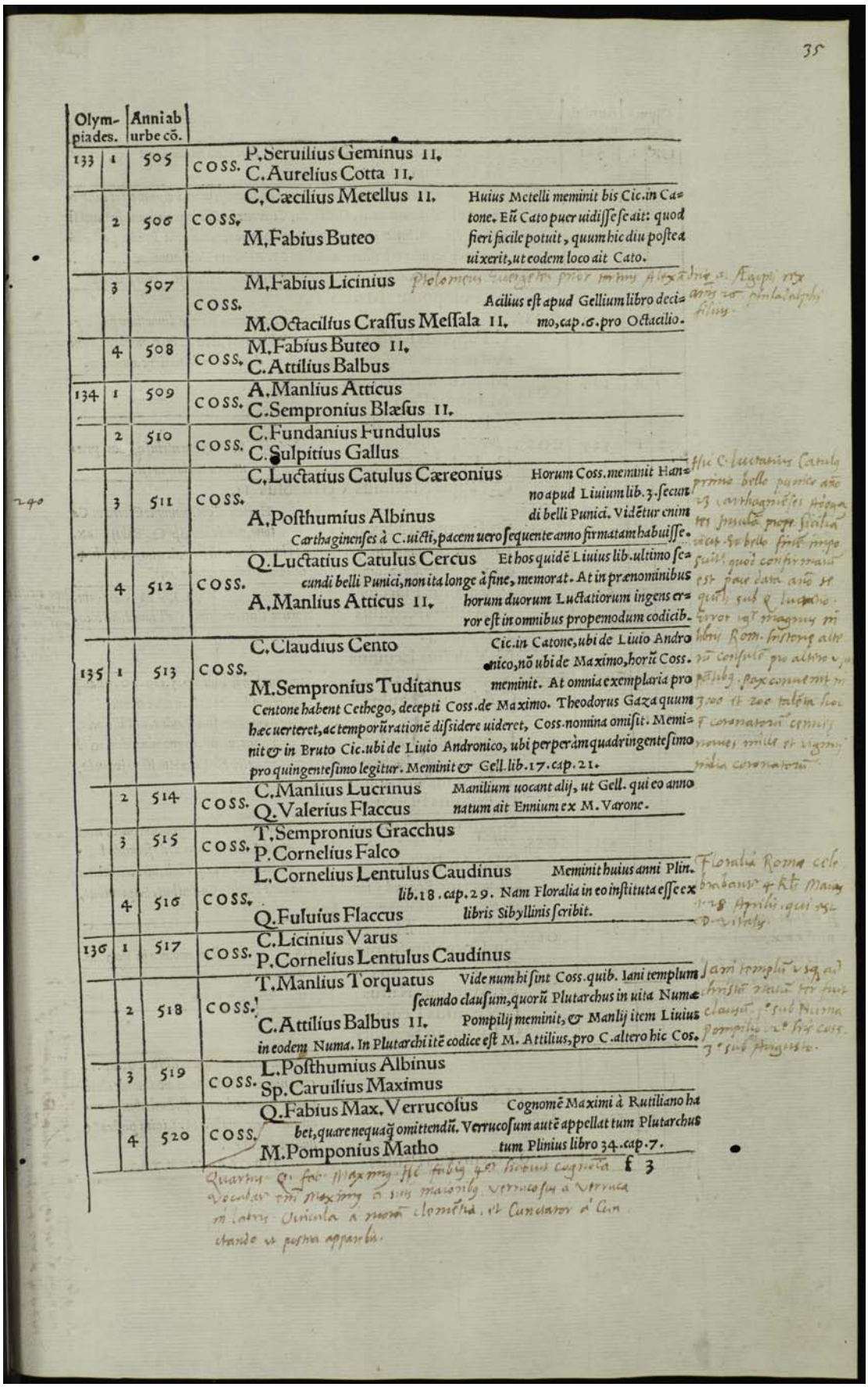
38 Hic Metellus primam gloriam apud Romanos acquisivit praelio contra Elephantes apud Panormum factum.[432] Hic est, qui palladium ex medio incendio templi Vestae eripuit.

42 Hoc anno Lylibium[433] graviter a Romanis obsidetur.

46 Romani his consulibus bis navali pugna victi, maris imperium amiserunt.[434] Hic fuit Appius, qui neglectis auspiciis bibere iussit pullis si edere nollent classem amisit.[435]

---

416 The first Punic War lasted 23 years from 263–241 BC.
417 Repetition of the sentence above (not in the Paris Copy).
418 Polybius, *Histories*, I, 16, 1–11.
419 Oppidum (as in the Paris Copy).
420 Polybius, *Histories*, I, 19, 15.
421 *Idem*, I, 20, 9.
422 Liparas (as in the Paris Copy).
423 Conclusus (as in the Paris Copy).
424 Polybius, *Histories*, I, 21, 4–11.
425 *Idem*, I, 23, 1–10.
426 Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, V, 1, 2.
427 Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, II, 8, 2.
428 364.
429 Polybius, *Histories*, I, 37, 1–2.
430 *Idem*, I, 38, 6 f.
431 *Idem*, I, 39, 6–I, 39, 15.
432 *Idem*, I, 40, 12–16.
433 Lilybaeum. Cf. Polybius, *Histories*, I, 42, 6–I, 48, 11.
434 Polybius, *Histories*, I, 54, 8–I, 55, 3.
435 Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II, 7; Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, I, 4, 3 and VII, 1.abs.4; Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, 2, 2.



35

Olympiades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.			
133	1	505	COSS.	P. Seruilius Geminus II. C. Aurelius Cotta II.	
	2	506	COSS.	C. Cæcilius Metellus II. M. Fabius Buteo	Huius Metelli meminit bis Cic. in Catone. Eũ Cato puer uidisse se ait: quod fieri facile potuit, quum hic diu postea uixerit, ut eodem loco ait Cato.
	3	507	COSS.	M. Fabius Licinius M. Octacilius Crassus Messala II.	Acilius est apud Gellium libro decimo, cap. 6. pro Octacilio.
	4	508	COSS.	M. Fabius Buteo II. C. Attilius Balbus	
134	1	509	COSS.	A. Manlius Atticus C. Sempronius Blæsus II.	
	2	510	COSS.	C. Fundanius Fundulus C. Sulpitius Gallus	
	3	511	COSS.	C. Luctatius Catulus Cæreonius A. Posthumius Albinus	Horum Coss. meminit Hanno apud Liuium lib. 3. secundi belli Punici. Videtur enim Carthaginenses à C. uicti, pacem uero sequente anno firmatam habuisse.
	4	512	COSS.	Q. Luctatius Catulus Cercus A. Manlius Atticus II.	Et hos quidẽ Liuius lib. ultimo secundi belli Punici, non ita longe à fine, memorat. At in prænominibus horum duorum Luctatiorum ingens error est in omnibus propemodum codicib.
135	1	513	COSS.	C. Claudius Cento M. Sempronius Tuditanus	Cic. in Catone, ubi de Liuio Andronico, nõ ubi de Maximo, horũ Coss. meminit. At omnia exemplaria pro Centone habent Cethego, decepti Coss. de Maximo. Theodorus Gaza quum hæc uerteret, ac temporũ rationẽ dissidere uideret, Coss. nomina omisit. Meminit & in Bruto Cic. ubi de Liuio Andronico, ubi per per ãm quadringentesimo pro quingentesimo legitur. Meminit & Gell. lib. 17. cap. 21.
	2	514	COSS.	C. Manlius Lucrinus Q. Valerius Flaccus	Manilium uocant alij, ut Gell. qui eo anno natum ait Ennium ex M. Varone.
	3	515	COSS.	T. Sempronius Gracchus P. Cornelius Falco	
	4	516	COSS.	L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus Q. Fuluius Flaccus	Meminit huius anni Plin. lib. 18. cap. 29. Nam Floralia in eo instituta esse ex libris Sibyllinis scribit.
136	1	517	COSS.	C. Licinius Varus P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus	
	2	518	COSS.	T. Manlius Torquatus C. Attilius Balbus II.	Videnum hi sint Coss. quib. Iani templum secundo clausum, quorũ Plutarchus in uita Numæ Pompilij meminit, & Manlij item Liuius in eodem Numa. In Plutarchi itẽ codice est M. Attilius, pro C. altero hic Cos.
	3	519	COSS.	L. Posthumius Albinus Sp. Caruilius Maximus	
	4	520	COSS.	Q. Fabius Max. Verrucosus M. Pomponius Matho	Cognomẽ Maximi à Rutiliano habet, quare nequaq̃ omittendũ. Verrucosum autẽ appellat tum Plutarchus tum Plinius libro 34. cap. 7.

9 Ptolomeus Euergetes prior, tertius Alexandrie ac Aegipti rex annis 26, Philadelphi filius.

18 Hic C. Luctatius[436] Catulus primo bello punico anno 23 Carthaginenses Adogates[437] insulam prope Siciliam vicit et bello finem imposuit, quod confirmatum est pace data anno sequenti sub Q. Luctatio.[438] Error igitur magnus in libris rom[anae] historie, alterum consulem pro altero usurpantibus. Pax convenit in 3000 et 200 talenta,[439] hoc est coronatorum centies nonies mille et viginti milia[440] coronatorum.

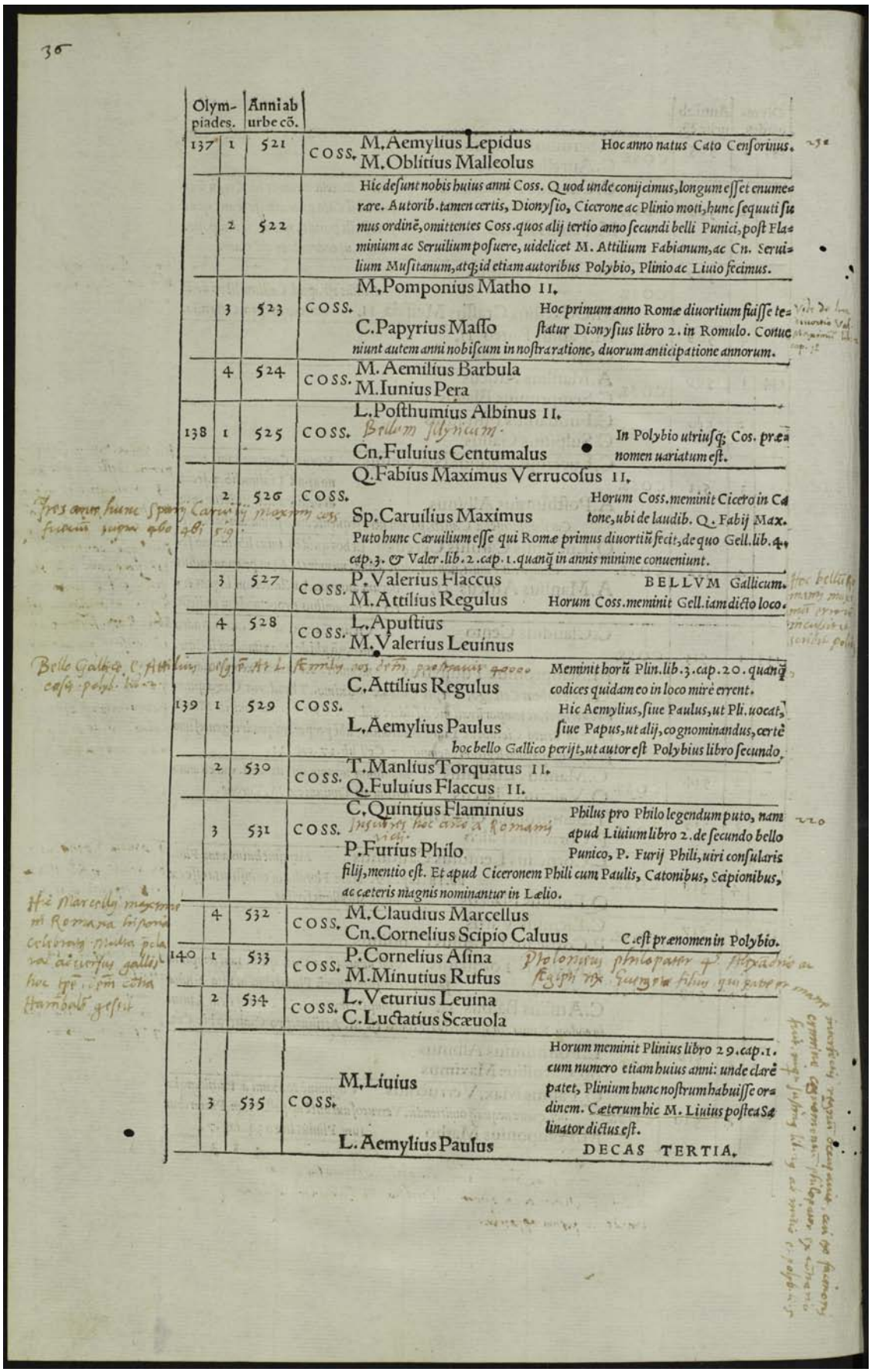
37 Floralia Romae celebrabantur 4 kalendas Maias, .I.[441] 28 Aprilis, qui est D[ivi] Vitalis.

42 Iani templum usque ad Christum natum ter fuit clausum. 1°. sub Numa Pompilio. 2°. his consulibus. 3°. sub Augusto.

48 Quartus Q. Fab[ius] Maximus. Hic Fabius 4^{or} [= quatuor] habuit cognomina. Vocabatur enim Maximus a suis maioribus, Verrucosus a verruca in labris, Ovicula a morum clementia et Cunctator a cunctando, ut postea apparebit.

---

436 Lutatius.
437 In Greek: Αιγουσσα. Cf. Polybius, *Histories*, I, 60, 1–I, 62, 9.
438 Lutatio.
439 2200 talenta. Cf. Polybius, *Histories*, I, 62, 9.
440 Millia (as in the Paris Copy).
441 Id est.



Olympiades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.		
137	1	521	COSS. M. Aemylius Lepidus M. Oblitius Malleolus	Hoc anno natus Cato Censorinus.
	2	522	Hic desunt nobis huius anni Coss. Quod unde conijcimus, longum esset enumerare. Autorib. tamen certis, Dionysio, Ciceronе ac Plinio moti, hunc sequuti sumus ordinẽ, omittentes Coss. quos alij tertio anno secundi belli Punici, post Flaminium ac Seruilium posuere, uidelicet M. Attilium Fabianum, ac Cn. Seruilium Musitanum, atq; id etiam autoribus Polybio, Plinio ac Liuio fecimus.	
	3	523	M. Pomponius Matho II. COSS. C. Papyrius Masso	Hoc primum anno Romæ diuortium fuisse testatur Dionysius libro 2. in Romulo. Contuc niunt autem anni nobiscum in nostra ratione, duorum anticipatione annorum.
	4	524	COSS. M. Aemilius Barbula M. Iunius Pera	
138	1	525	L. Posthumius Albinus II. COSS. Cn. Fuluius Centumalus	In Polybio utriusq; Cos. prænomen uariatum est.
	2	526	Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus II. COSS. Sp. Caruilius Maximus	Horum Coss. meminit Cicero in Catone, ubi de laudib. Q. Fabij Max. Puto hunc Caruilium esse qui Romæ primus diuortiũ fecit, de quo Gell. lib. 4. cap. 3. & Valer. lib. 2. cap. 1. quanq; in annis minime conueniunt.
	3	527	COSS. P. Valerius Flaccus M. Attilius Regulus	BELLVM Gallicum. Horum Coss. meminit Gell. iam dicto loco.
	4	528	COSS. L. Apustius M. Valerius Leuinus	
139	1	529	C. Attilius Regulus COSS. L. Aemylius Paulus	Meminit horũ Plin. lib. 3. cap. 20. quanq; codices quidam eo in loco mirè errent. Hic Aemylius, siue Paulus, ut Pli. uocat, siue Papus, ut alij, cognominandus, certè hoc bello Gallico perijt, ut autor est Polybius libro secundo.
	2	530	COSS. T. Manlius Torquatus II. Q. Fuluius Flaccus II.	
	3	531	C. Quintius Flaminius COSS. P. Furius Philo	Philus pro Philo legendum puto, nam apud Liuium libro 2. de secundo bello Punico, P. Furij Phili, uiri consularis filij, mentio est. Et apud Ciceronem Phili cum Paulis, Catonibus, Scipionibus, ac cæteris magnis nominantur in Lælio.
	4	532	COSS. M. Claudius Marcellus Cn. Cornelius Scipio Caluus	C. est prænomen in Polybio.
140	1	533	COSS. P. Cornelius Alina M. Minutius Rufus	
	2	534	COSS. L. Veturius Leuina C. Luctatius Scæuola	
	3	535	M. Liuius COSS. L. Aemylius Paulus	Horum meminit Plinius libro 29. cap. 1. cum numero etiam huius anni: unde clarè patet, Plinium hunc nostrum habuisse ordinem. Cæterum hic M. Liuius postea Salinator dictus est. DECAS TERTIA.

11 Vide de hoc divortio Val. Maximum lib. 2 cap. 12[442]

17 Bellum Illyricum.

21 Tres ante hunc Sparii[443] Carvilii Maximi consules fuerunt supra 460, 481, 519.

24 Hoc bellum Romanis maximum errorem[444] incussit ut scribit Polybius.[445]

28 Bello Gallico C. Attilius cesus est. At L. Aemilius eos deinde prostravit 40000 caesis. Polyb. lib. 2.[446]

36 Insubres hoc anno a Romanis victi.[447]

40 Hic Marcellus maxime in romana historia celebratus. Multa praeclara adversus Gallos hoc tempore, deinde contra Hannibalem gessit.[448]

42 Ptolomeus Philopater quartus Alexandrie ac Aegipti rex. Euergetae filius, qui patre et matre interfectis regnum occupavit, cui ex facinoris crimine cognomentum Philopater ex contrario fuit, inquit Iustinus lib. 29 ab initio[449] et Polyb. li. 5.[450]

---

442 Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, II, 1, 4.

443 Spurii (as in the Paris Copy).

444 Horrorem (as in the Paris Copy).

445 Polybius, *Histories*, II, 31, 7. One of the consuls during this war was not M. Attilius Regulus (as given in the printed text by Glareanus), but C. Attilius Regulus.

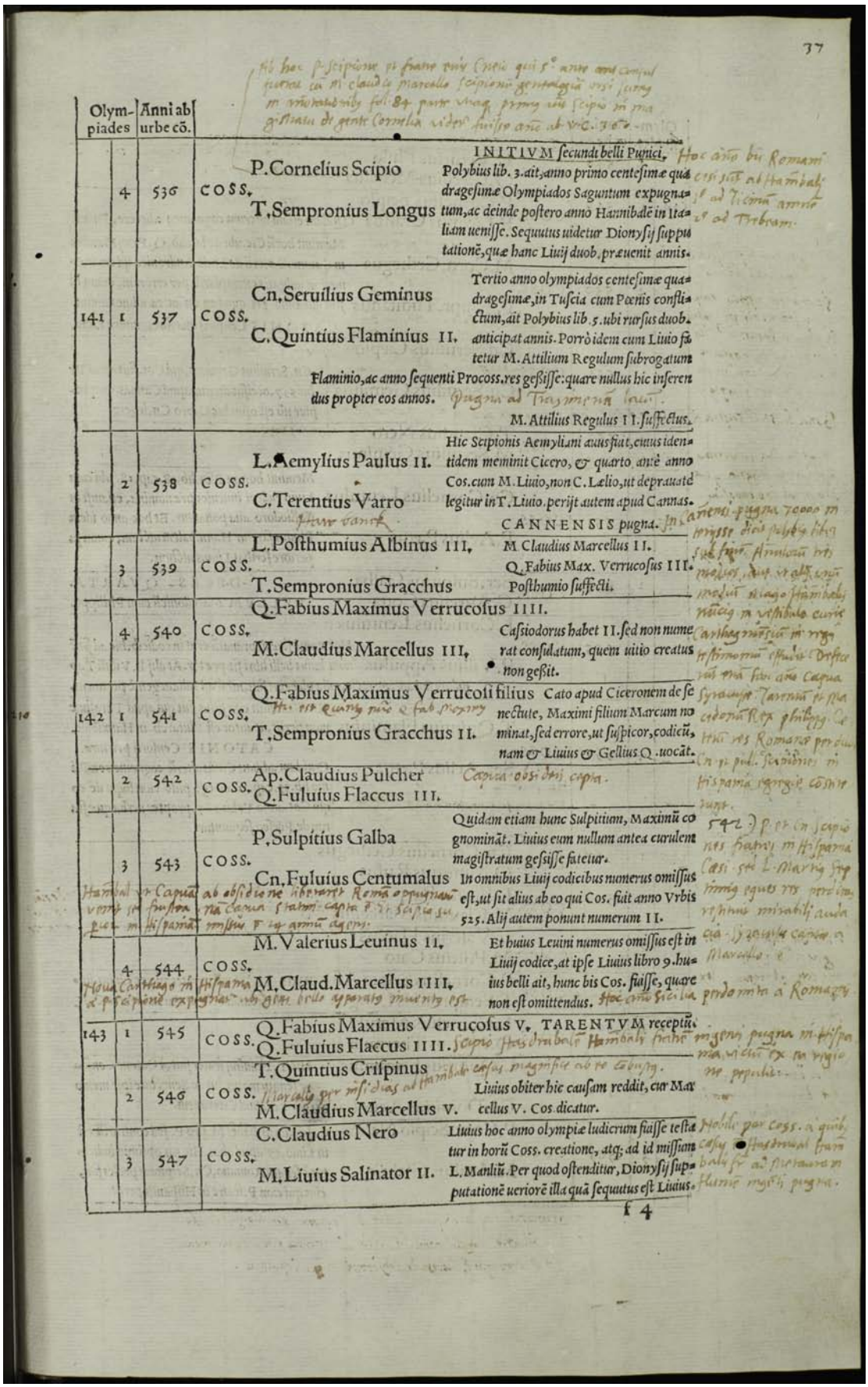
446 *Idem*, II, 28, 10 and II, 31, 1.

447 *Idem*, II, 33, 9.

448 Cf. *Idem*, II, 34, 6–15.

449 Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 29, 1.

450 Polybius, *Histories*, V, 82.



Olympiades		Anni ab urbe cõ.		
				INITIVM secundi belli Punici.
	4	536	COSS. P.Cornelius Scipio T.Sempronius Longus	Polybius lib. 3. ait, anno primo centesimæ quadragesimæ Olympiados Saguntum expugnatum, ac deinde postero anno Hannibalē in Italiam uenisse. Sequutus uidetur Dionysij supputationē, quæ hanc Liuij duob. præuenit annis.
141	1	537	COSS. Cn.Seruilius Geminus C.Quintius Flaminius II.	Tertio anno olympiados centesimæ quadragesimæ, in Tuscia cum Pœnis conflictum, ait Polybius lib. 5. ubi rursus duob. anticipat annis. Porrò idem cum Liuio fatetur M. Attilium Regulum subrogatum Flaminio, ac anno sequenti Procoss. res gessisse: quare nullus hic inserendus propter eos annos.
				M. Attilius Regulus II. suffectus.
	2	538	COSS. L.Aemylius Paulus II. C.Terentius Varro	Hic Scipionis Aemyliani auus fuit, cuius identidem meminit Cicero, & quarto ante anno Cos. cum M. Liuio, non C. Lælio, ut depravate legitur in T. Liuio. perijt autem apud Cannas.
				CANNENSIS pugna.
	3	539	COSS. L.Posthumius Albinus III. T.Sempronius Gracchus	M Claudius Marcellus II. Q.Fabius Max. Verrucosus III. Posthumio suffecti.
	4	540	COSS. Q.Fabius Maximus Verrucosus IIII. M.Claudius Marcellus III.	Cassiodorus habet II. sed non numerat consulatum, quem uitio creatus non gessit.
142	1	541	COSS. Q.Fabius Maximus Verrucosi filius T.Sempronius Gracchus II.	Cato apud Ciceronem de senectute, Maximi filium Marcum nominat, sed errore, ut suspicor, codicū, nam & Liuius & Gellius Q. uocāt.
	2	542	COSS. Ap.Claudius Pulcher Q.Fuluius Flaccus III.	
	3	543	COSS. P.Sulpitius Galba Cn.Fuluius Centumalus	Quidam etiam hunc Sulpitium, Maximū cognominat. Liuius eum nullum antea curulem magistratum gessisse fatetur. In omnibus Liuij codicibus numerus omissus est, ut sit alius ab eo qui Cos. fuit anno Vrbis 525. Alij autem ponunt numerum II.
	4	544	COSS. M.Valerius Leuinus II. M.Claud.Marcellus IIII.	Et huius Leuini numerus omissus est in Liuij codice, at ipse Liuius libro 9. huius belli ait, hunc bis Cos. fuisse, quare non est omittendus.
143	1	545	COSS. Q.Fabius Maximus Verrucosus V. Q.Fuluius Flaccus IIII.	TARENTVM receptū.
	2	546	COSS. T.Quintius Crispinus M.Claudius Marcellus V.	Liuius obiter hic causam reddit, cur Marcellus V. Cos dicatur.
	3	547	COSS. C.Claudius Nero M.Liuius Salinator II.	Liuius hoc anno olympiæ ludicrum fuisse testatur in horū Coss. creatione, atq; ad id missum L. Manliū. Per quod ostenditur, Dionysij supputationē ueriorē illa quā sequutus est Liuius.

Top of the page: Ab hoc P. Cornelio Scipione et fratre eius Cneio, qui 5° [= quinto] ante ant[451] consul fuerat, cum M. Claudio Marcello. Scipionum genealogiam orsi sumus in annotationibus, fol. 84,[452] parte utraque. Primus autem Scipio in magistratu de gente Cornelia videtur fuisse anno ab v. c.[453] 360.

3 Hoc anno bis Romani cesi sunt ab Hannibale, primum ad Ticinum amnem, secundo ad Trebiam.

15 Pugna ad Trasimenem lacum.

21 Hawbanck.[454]

21 In Cannensi pugna 70000 interiisse, dicit Polybius lib. 3 sub finem.[455] Annulorum tres modios, aut ut alii unum modium, Mago Hannibalis nuncius in vestibulo curie Carthaginensium in regii[456] testimonium effudit.[457] Defecerunt etiam hoc anno Capua Syracusae, Tarentum et Macedonum rex Philippus. Caeterum res romanae per duos Cn. et Publ. Scipiones in Hispania egregie constiterunt.

30 Hic est quintus numero Q. Fab. Maximus

33 Capua obsideri cepta.

35 542.) P. et Cn. Scipiones fratres in Hispania caesi, sed L. Martius Septimius eques res perditas restituit mirabili audacia. Syracusae captae a Marcello[458] est.

39 Hannibal, ut Capuam ab obsidione liberaret, Romam oppugnatum venit, sed frustra. Nam Capua statim capta est, et Scipio superior in Hispaniam missus est 24 annum agens.

43 Nova Carthago in Hispania a P. Scipione expugnatur, ubi gens[459] bello[460] apparatus inventus est.

44 Hoc anno Sicilia perdomita a Romanis.

46 Scipio Hasdrubalem Hannibali[461] fratrem ingenti pugna in Hispania victum ex ea regione pepulit.

48 Marcellus per insidias ab Hannibale caesus, magnifice ab eo combustus.

50 Nobile par consulum a quibus caesus est Hasdrubal, Hannibalis frater, ad Metauram[462] flumen ingenti pugna.

---

[451] Mistake: ante anno (as in the Paris Copy).

[452] Henricus Glareanus, *In omneis ... T. Livii Patavinii clarissimi historici decadas, annotationes, cum eiusdem Chronologia ...*, Basle, Michael Isengrin, 1540.

[453] Urbe condita.

[454] Middle High German: butchers table. In the Paris Copy is written in German: "Ein isen bisser, metzger, und houbanck." This means, that Gaius Terentius Varro was a very cruel man. *Grimm's Wörterbuch* and the *Idiotikon* do not document this. Note also that Glareanus lapses into German when criticizing the Roman emperors, as described by Suetonius. See Henricus Glareanus (ed.), *In C. Suetonii Tranquilli Caesares ...* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1560), p. 63 f.

[455] Polybius, *Histories*, III, 117, 4.

[456] Rei (as in the Paris Copy).

[457] Livy, *Roman history*, XXIII, 12, 1–2.

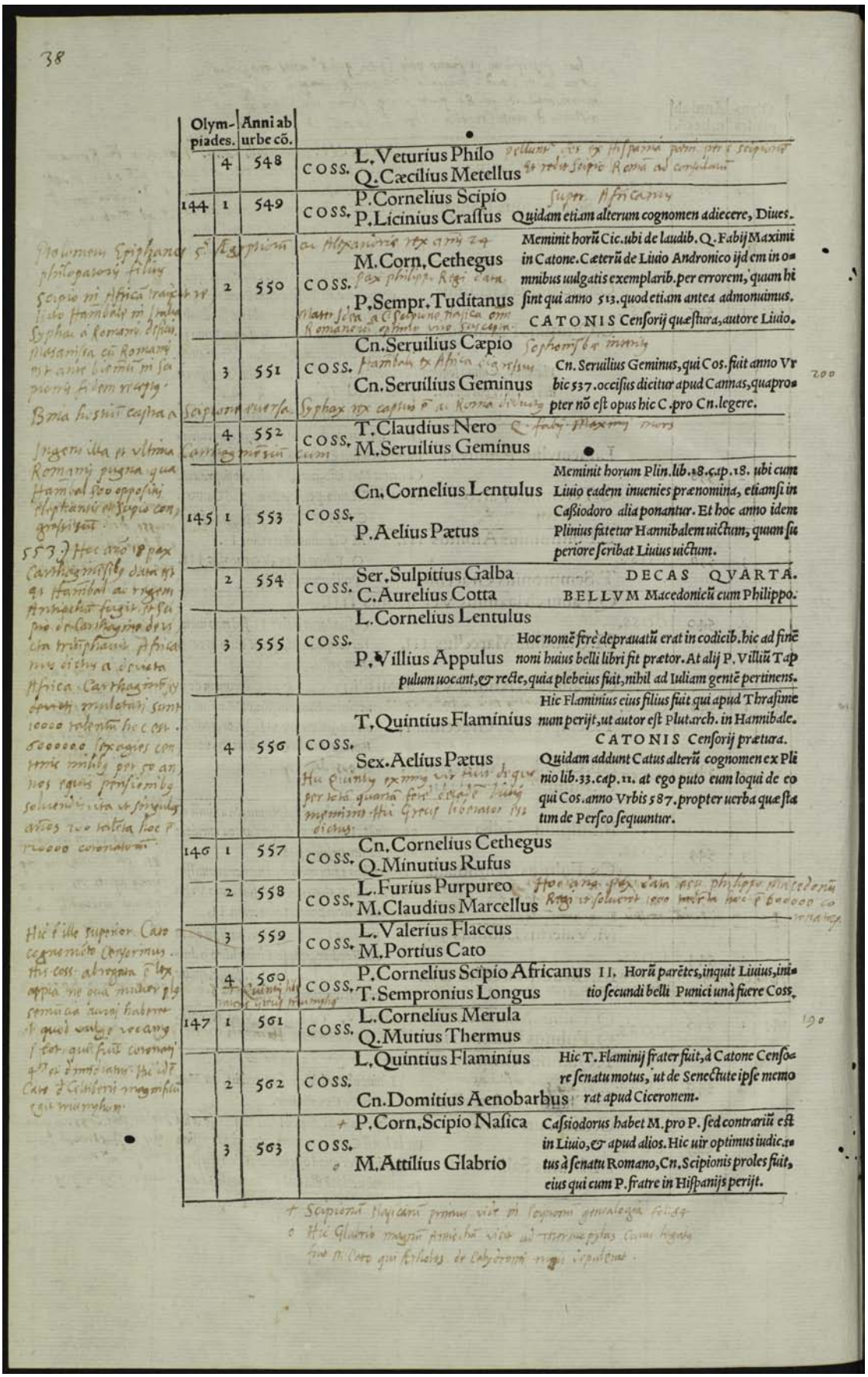
[458] Marcus Claudius Marcellus, not Metellus as written in den Paris Copy.

[459] Ingens (as in the Paris Copy).

[460] Belli (as in the Paris Copy).

[461] Hannibalis (as in the Paris Copy).

[462] Metaurum (as in the Paris Copy).



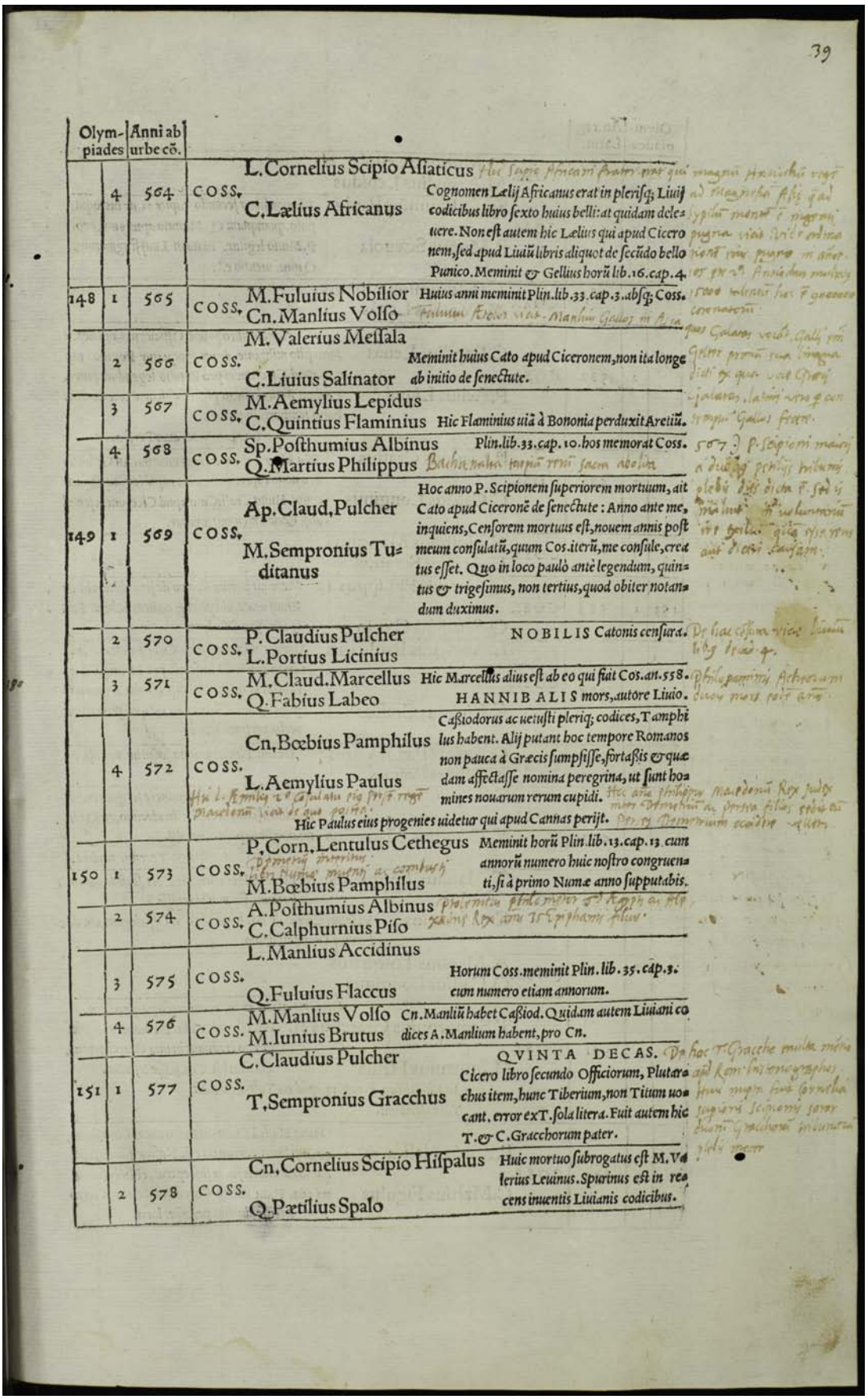
Olympiades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.		
	4	548	COSS.	L. Veturius Philo Q. Cæcilius Metellus
144	1	549	COSS.	P. Cornelius Scipio P. Licinius Crassus — Quidam etiam alterum cognomen adiecere, Dives.
	2	550	COSS.	M. Corn. Cethegus P. Sempr. Tuditanus — Meminit horũ Cic. ubi de laudib. Q. Fabij Maximi in Catone. Cæterũ de Liuio Andronico ijdem in omnibus uulgatis exemplarib. per errorem, quam hi sint qui anno 513. quod etiam antea admonuimus. CATONIS Censorij quæstura, autore Liuio.
	3	551	COSS.	Cn. Seruilius Cæpio Cn. Seruilius Geminus — Cn. Seruilius Geminus, qui Cos. fuit anno Vrbis 537. occisus dicitur apud Cannas, quapropter nõ est opus hic C. pro Cn. legere.
	4	552	COSS.	T. Claudius Nero M. Seruilius Geminus
145	1	553	COSS.	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus P. Aelius Pætus — Meminit horum Plin. lib. 18. cap. 18. ubi cum Liuio eadem inuenies prænomina, etiamsi in Cassiodoro alia ponantur. Et hoc anno idem Plinius fatetur Hannibalem uictum, quam superiore scribat Liuius uictum.
	2	554	COSS.	Ser. Sulpitius Galba C. Aurelius Cotta — DECAS QVARTA. BELLVM Macedonicũ cum Philippo.
	3	555	COSS.	L. Cornelius Lentulus P. Villius Appulus — Hoc nomẽ ferè deprauatũ erat in codicib. hic ad finẽ noni huius belli libri fit prætor. At alij P. Villiũ Tappulum uocant, & rectè, quia plebeius fuit, nihil ad Iuliam gentẽ pertinens.
	4	556	COSS.	T. Quintius Flaminius Sex. Aelius Pætus — Hic Flaminius eius filius fuit qui apud Thrasimenum perijt, ut autor est Plut. arch. in Hannibale. CATONIS Censorij prætura. Quidam addunt Catus alterũ cognomen ex Plinio lib. 33. cap. 11. at ego puto eum loqui de eo qui Cos. anno Vrbis 587. propter uerba quæ statim de Perseo sequuntur.
146	1	557	COSS.	Cn. Cornelius Cethegus Q. Minutius Rufus
	2	558	COSS.	L. Furius Purpureo M. Claudius Marcellus
	3	559	COSS.	L. Valerius Flaccus M. Portius Cato
	4	560	COSS.	P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus II. T. Sempronius Longus — Horũ parẽtes, inquit Liuius, initio secundi belli Punici unà fuere Coss.
147	1	561	COSS.	L. Cornelius Merula Q. Mutius Thermus
	2	562	COSS.	L. Quintius Flaminius Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus — Hic T. Flaminij frater fuit, à Catone Censore senatu motus, ut de Senectute ipse memorat apud Ciceronem.
	3	563	COSS.	P. Corn. Scipio Nasica M. Attilius Glabrio — Cassiodorus habet M. pro P. sed contrariũ est in Liuio, & apud alios. Hic uir optimus iudicatus à senatu Romano, Cn. Scipionis proles fuit, eius qui cum P. fratre in Hispanijs perijt.

3 Pelluntur omnes ex Hispania Poeni per C. Scipionem. Et redit Scipio Romam ad consulatum.
5 Super[463] Africanus.
7 Ptolomeus Epiphanes quintus Aegyptiorum ac Alexandrie rex annis 24, Philopatoris filius.
9 Pax Philipp[o] regi data.
9 Scipio in Africam traiicit[464] relicto Hannibale in Italia. Syphac[465] a Romanis deficit. Masanissa[466] cum Romanis est ante biennium in Scipionis fidem receptus.
11 Mater Idea[467] a P. Scipione Nasica omnium Romanorum optimo viro suscepta.
12 Sophonisbae[468] interitus.
13 Hannibalis ex Africa digressus.
15 Bina hostium castra a Scipione eversa. Syphax rex captus est ac Romam deductus.
16 Q. Fabii Maximi mors.
17 Ingens illa et ultima Carthaginensium cum Romanis pugna, qua Hannibal 800 oppositis elephantis et Scipio congressi sunt.
23 553.) Hoc anno 18 pax Carthaginensibus data est. Et Hannibal ad regem Antiochum fugit, et Scipio de Carthagine devicta triumphavit Africanus dictus a devicta Africa. Carthaginenses mulctati sunt 10000 talentum, hoc est [coronatis] 6000000 sexagies centenis milibus[469] per 50 annos equis pensionibus solvendis, ita ut singulos annos 200 talenta, hoc est 120000 coronatorum.
31 Hic Quintus eximius vir fuit, de quo per totam quartam fere decadem Livius meminit.[470] Hic Grecie liberator est dictus.
39 Hoc anno pax data est Philippo Macedonum regi, ut solveret 1000 talenta, hoc est 600000 coronatorum.
41 Hic est ille superior Cato cognomento Censorinus. His consulibus abrogata est lex Appia, ne qua mulier plus semuncia aurei haberet, id est, quod vulgo vocamus, 1 lot,[471] qui sunt coronati 4^{or} et dimidiatus. Hic idem Cato de Celtiberis magnificum egit triumphum.
44 T. Quintii liberatoris Grecie triumphus.

At the bottom of the page:
Scipionum Nasicarum primus vide in Scipionum genealogia, fol. 84[472]

Hic Glabrio magnum Antiochum vicit ad Thermopylas, cuius legatus fuit M[arcus] Cato, qui Aetholos[473] de Calydromi[474] iugis depulerat.

[463] Superior (as in the Paris Copy).
[464] Traicit.
[465] Syphax (as in the Paris Copy).
[466] Masinissa.
[467] Idaea = goddess Kybele.
[468] Sophonibae. Livy, *Roman History*, XXX, 15, 7 f.
[469] Twice the same number, once written in words.
[470] Livy, *Roman History*, XXXI,4–XXXVIII,28.
[471] See Glareanus's work on weights and measures (*De asse et partibus eius*).
[472] Henricus Glareanus, *In omneis ... T. Livii Patavinii clarissimi historici decadas, annotationes, cum eiusdem Chronologia ...*, Basle, Michael Isengrin, 1540.
[473] Aetolos.
[474] Callidromi (as in the Paris Copy).



Olympiades		Anni ab urbe cõ.			
	4	564	COSS.	L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus C. Lælius Africanus	Cognomen Lælij Africanus erat in pleriſq; Liuij codicibus libro ſexto huius belli: at quidam deleuere. Non eſt autem hic Lælius qui apud Ciceronem, ſed apud Liuiũ libris aliquot de ſecũdo bello Punico. Meminit & Gellius horũ lib. 16. cap. 4.
148	1	565	COSS.	M. Fuluius Nobilior Cn. Manlius Volſo	Huius anni meminit Plin. lib. 33. cap. 3. abſq; Coss.
	2	566	COSS.	M. Valerius Meſſala C. Liuius Salinator	Meminit huius Cato apud Ciceronem, non ita longe ab initio de ſenectute.
	3	567	COSS.	M. Aemylius Lepidus C. Quintius Flaminius	Hic Flaminius uiã à Bononia perduxit Aretiũ.
	4	568	COSS.	Sp. Poſthumius Albinus Q. Martius Philippus	Plin. lib. 33. cap. 10. hos memorat Coss.
149	1	569	COSS.	Ap. Claud. Pulcher M. Sempronius Tuditanus	Hoc anno P. Scipionem ſuperiorem mortuum, ait Cato apud Ciceronẽ de ſenectute: Anno ante me, inquiens, Cenſorem mortuus eſt, nouem annis poſt meum conſulatũ, quum Cos. iterũ, me conſule, creatus eſſet. Quo in loco paulò antè legendum, quintus & trigeſimus, non tertius, quod obiter notandum duximus.
	2	570	COSS.	P. Claudius Pulcher L. Portius Licinius	NOBILIS Catonis cenſura.
	3	571	COSS.	M. Claud. Marcellus Q. Fabius Labeo	Hic Marcellus alius eſt ab eo qui fuit Cos. an. 558. HANNIBALIS mors, autore Liuio.
	4	572	COSS.	Cn. Bœbius Pamphilus L. Aemylius Paulus	Caſſiodorus ac uetuſti pleriq; codices, Tamphilus habent. Alij putant hoc tempore Romanos non pauca à Græcis ſumpſiſſe, fortaſſis & quædam affectaſſe nomina peregrina, ut ſunt homines nouarum rerum cupidi. Hic Paulus eius progenies uidetur qui apud Cannas perijt.
150	1	573	COSS.	P. Corn. Lentulus Cethegus M. Bœbius Pamphilus	Meminit horũ Plin. lib. 13. cap. 13. cum annorũ numero huic noſtro congruenti, ſi à primo Numæ anno ſupputabis.
	2	574	COSS.	A. Poſthumius Albinus C. Calphurnius Piſo	
	3	575	COSS.	L. Manlius Accidinus Q. Fuluius Flaccus	Horum Coss. meminit Plin. lib. 35. cap. 3. cum numero etiam annorum.
	4	576	COSS.	M. Manlius Volſo M. Iunius Brutus	Cn. Manliũ habet Caſſiod. Quidam autem Liuiani codices A. Manlium habent, pro Cn.
151	1	577	COSS.	C. Claudius Pulcher T. Sempronius Gracchus	QVINTA DECAS. Cicero libro ſecundo Officiorum, Plutarchus item, hunc Tiberium, non Titum uocant. error ex T. ſola litera. Fuit autem hic T. & C. Gracchorum pater.
	2	578	COSS.	Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalus Q. Pætilius Spalo	Huic mortuo ſubrogatus eſt M. Valerius Leuinus. Spurinus eſt in recens inuentis Liuianis codicibus.

3 Hic Scipio Africani frater erat, qui magnum Antiochum regem ad Magnesiam Asiae, quae ad Sypilum[475] montem est, ingenti pugna vicit. Vide ordinationem eius pugnae in annot[ationibus] [fol.] 105, parte 2ª [= secunda]. Antiochus mulctatus 15000 talentum, hoc est 9000000 coronatorum.

10 Fulvius Aetolos vicit, Manlius Gallos in Asia, quos Galatas vocant. Galli enim Gelter primum sua lingua dicti, ex qua voce graeci Galatas, latini vero per contemptum Gallos facere.

16 567.) P. Scipioni maiori a duobus Petiliis tribunis plebis dies dicta est. Sed is maluit in voluntarium ire [in][476] exilium, quam esse reus aut dicere causam.

17 Bachanalia[477] turpium rerum sacra abolita.

25 De hac censura vide Livium, lib. 9, decas 4.[478]

27 Philopaminis[479] Acheorum duorum mors eodem anno.

33 Hic L. Aemilius 2º [= secundo] consulato eius Perseum regem Macedonum vicit de quo postea.[480]

33 Hoc anno Philippus Macedonum rex iudex inter Demetrium ac Persea filios sedit cum Perses Demetrium occidere vellet.

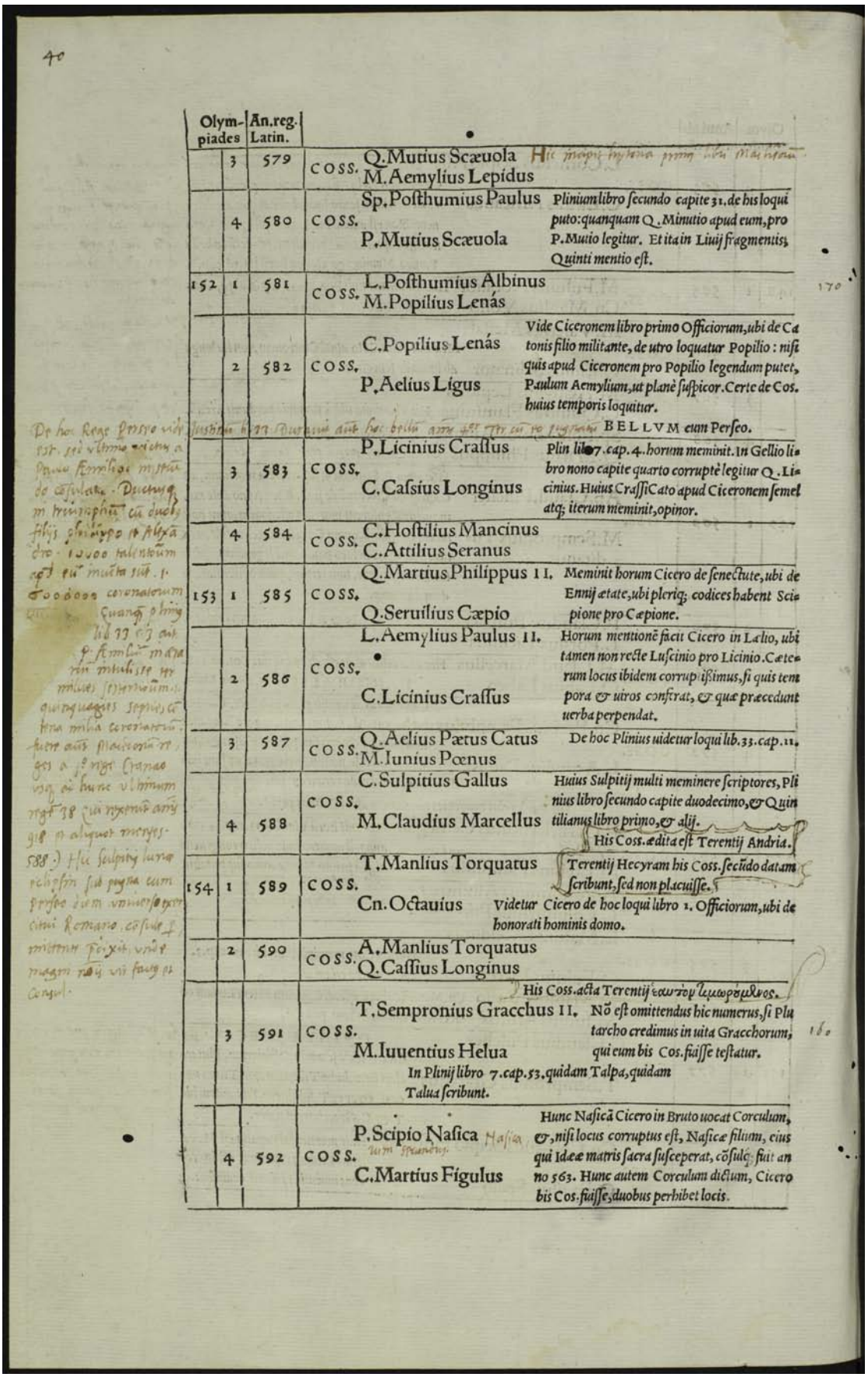
36 Demetrii interitus.
Libri Numae inventi ac combusti

38 Ptolemeus Philometor 6us [= sextus] Aegypti ac Alexandrie rex annis 35 Epiphanis filius.

45 De hoc T. Graccho multa mentio apud rom[anos] historiographos. Huic nupta fuit Cornelia superioris Scipionis soror, duorum Graccorum tribunorum plebis mater.

---

475 Sipylus.
476 As in the Paris Copy.
477 Bacchanalia (as in the Paris Copy).
478 Livy, *Roman history*, XXXIX, 44, 1–9.
479 Philopoeminis.
480 Livy, *Roman history*, XLIV, 43, 1–45, 12.



Olympiades		An. reg. Latin.		
	3	579	COSS. Q. Mutius Scæuola M. Aemylius Lepidus	
	4	580	COSS. Sp. Posthumius Paulus P. Mutius Scæuola	Plinium libro secundo capite 31. de his loqui puto: quanquam Q. Minutio apud eum, pro P. Mutio legitur. Et ita in Liuij fragmentis, Quinti mentio est.
152	1	581	COSS. L. Posthumius Albinus M. Popilius Lenas	
	2	582	COSS. C. Popilius Lenas P. Aelius Ligus	Vide Ciceronem libro primo Officiorum, ubi de Catonis filio militante, de utro loquatur Popilio: nisi quis apud Ciceronem pro Popilio legendum putet, Paulum Aemylium, ut planè suspicor. Certe de Cos. huius temporis loquitur.
			BELLVM cum Perseo.	
	3	583	COSS. P. Licinius Crassus C. Cassius Longinus	Plin lib. 7. cap. 4. horum meminit. In Gellio libro nono capite quarto corruptè legitur Q. Licinius. Huius Crassi Cato apud Ciceronem semel atq; iterum meminit, opinor.
	4	584	COSS. C. Hostilius Mancinus C. Attilius Seranus	
153	1	585	COSS. Q. Martius Philippus II. Q. Seruilius Cæpio	Meminit horum Cicero de senectute, ubi de Ennij ætate, ubi plerique codices habent Scipione pro Cæpione.
	2	586	COSS. L. Aemylius Paulus II. C. Licinius Crassus	Horum mentionē facit Cicero in Lælio, ubi tamen non recte Luscinio pro Licinio. Cæterum locus ibidem corruptissimus, si quis tempora & uiros confrat, & quæ præcedunt uerba perpendat.
	3	587	COSS. Q. Aelius Pætus Catus M. Iunius Pœnus	De hoc Plinius uidetur loqui lib. 33. cap. 11.
	4	588	COSS. C. Sulpitius Gallus M. Claudius Marcellus	Huius Sulpitij multi meminere scriptores, Plinius libro secundo capite duodecimo, & Quintilianus libro primo, & alij.
			His Coss. ædita est Terentij Andria.	
154	1	589	COSS. T. Manlius Torquatus Cn. Octauius	Terentij Hecyram his Coss. secūdo datam scribunt, sed non placuisse. Videtur Cicero de hoc loqui libro 1. Officiorum, ubi de honorati hominis domo.
	2	590	COSS. A. Manlius Torquatus Q. Cassius Longinus	
			His Coss. acta Terentij ἑαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος.	
	3	591	COSS. T. Sempronius Gracchus II. M. Iuuentius Helua In Plinij libro 7. cap. 53. quidam Talpa, quidam Talua scribunt.	Nō est omittendus hic numerus, si Plutarcho credimus in uita Gracchorum, qui eum bis Cos. fuisse testatur.
	4	592	COSS. P. Scipio Nasica C. Martius Figulus	Hunc Nasicā Cicero in Bruto uocat Corculum, & nisi locus corruptus est, Nasicæ filium, eius qui Idææ matris sacra susceperat, cōsulq; fuit anno 563. Hunc autem Corculum dictum, Cicero bis Cos. fuisse, duobus perhibet locis.

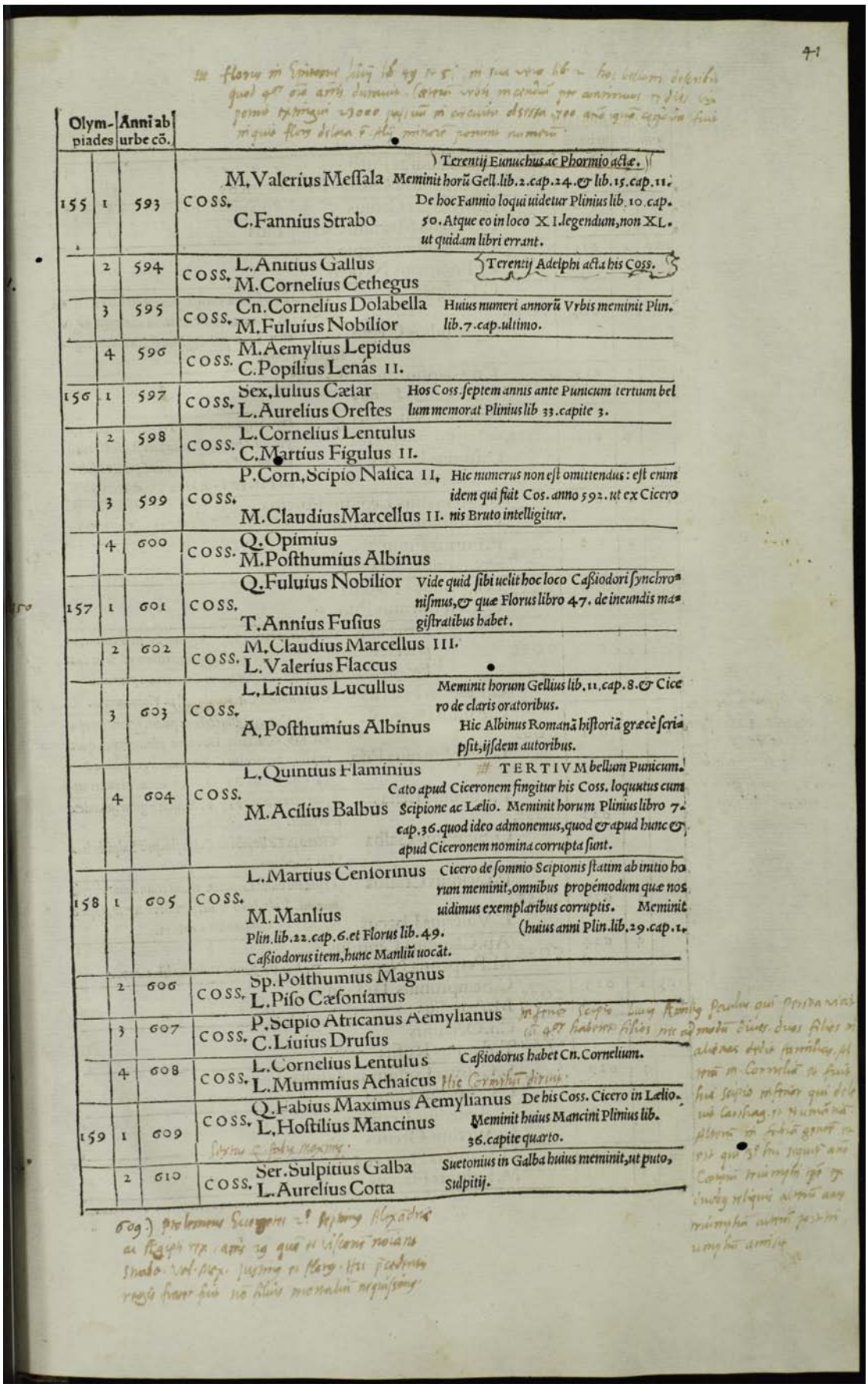
3 Hic incipit historia primi libri Macheorum[481]

16 De hoc rege Perseo vide Iustinum li. 33.[482] Duravit autem hoc bellum annis 4^{or} [= quatuor]. Ter cum eo pugnatum est, sed ultimo victus a Paulo Aemilio in secundo consulatu. Ductusque in triumphum cum duobus filiis Philippo et Alexandro. 10'000 talentorum[483] apud eum inventa sunt, id est 6'000'000 coronatorum. Quanquam Plinius, lib 33, c. 3, ait,[484] P. Aemilium in aerarium intulisse ter millies sestertiorum, .I.[485] quinquagies septies centena milia[486] coronatorum. Fuere autem Macedonum reges a primo rege Cranao usque ad hunc ultimum regem 38, qui rexerunt annis 918 et aliquot menses.[487]

37 588.) Hic Sulpitius lunae eclipsin sub pugna cum Perseo diem universo exercitui romano consule permittente praedixit, unde magni nominis vir factus et consul.[488]

50 Nasicarum secundus.

[481] Machabeorum (as in the Paris Copy).
[482] Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 33, 1 f.
[483] Talentum (as in the Paris Copy).
[484] Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXIII, 17, 56.
[485] Id est.
[486] Millia (as in the Paris Copy).
[487] Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 2, 6.
[488] Pliny, *Natural History*, II, 9, 53.



Olympiades		Anni ab urbe cõ.		
				Terentij Eunuchus ac Phormio actæ.
155	1	593	COSS. M. Valerius Messala C. Fannius Strabo	Meminit horũ Gell. lib. 2. cap. 24. & lib. 15. cap. 11. De hoc Fannio loqui uidetur Plinius lib. 10. cap. 50. Atque eo in loco XI. legendum, non XL. ut quidam libri errant.
	2	594	COSS. L. Anitius Gallus M. Cornelius Cethegus	Terentij Adelphi acta his Coss.
	3	595	COSS. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella M. Fuluius Nobilior	Huius numeri annorũ Vrbis meminit Plin. lib. 7. cap. ultimo.
	4	596	COSS. M. Aemylius Lepidus C. Popilius Lenas II.	
156	1	597	COSS. Sex. Iulius Cæsar L. Aurelius Orestes	Hos Coss. septem annis ante Punicum tertium bellum memorat Plinius lib 33. capite 3.
	2	598	COSS. L. Cornelius Lentulus C. Martius Figulus II.	
	3	599	COSS. P. Corn. Scipio Nasica II. M. Claudius Marcellus II.	Hic numerus non est omittendus: est enim idem qui fiat Cos. anno 592. ut ex Ciceronis Bruto intelligitur.
	4	600	COSS. Q. Opimius M. Posthumius Albinus	
157	1	601	COSS. Q. Fuluius Nobilior T. Annius Fusius	Vide quid sibi uelit hoc loco Cassiodori synchronismus, & quæ Florus libro 47. de ineundis magistratibus habet.
	2	602	COSS. M. Claudius Marcellus III. L. Valerius Flaccus	
	3	603	COSS. L. Licinius Lucullus A. Posthumius Albinus	Meminit horum Gellius lib. 11. cap. 8. & Cicero de claris oratoribus. Hic Albinus Romanã historiã græcè scripsit, ijsdem autoribus.
	4	604	COSS. L. Quintius Flaminius M. Acilius Balbus	TERTIVM bellum Punicum. Cato apud Ciceronem fingitur his Coss. loquutus cum Scipione ac Lælio. Meminit horum Plinius libro 7. cap. 36. quod ideo admonemus, quod & apud hunc & apud Ciceronem nomina corrupta sunt.
158	1	605	COSS. L. Martius Censorinus M. Manlius	Cicero de somnio Scipionis statim ab initio horum meminit, omnibus propemodum quæ nos uidimus exemplaribus corruptis. Meminit (huius anni Plin. lib. 29. cap. 1. Plin. lib. 22. cap. 6. et Florus lib. 49. Cassiodorus item, hunc Manlium uocat.
	2	606	COSS. Sp. Posthumius Magnus L. Piso Cæsoninus	
	3	607	COSS. P. Scipio Africanus Aemylianus C. Liuius Drusus	
	4	608	COSS. L. Cornelius Lentulus L. Mummius Achaicus	Cassiodorus habet Cn. Cornelium.
159	1	609	COSS. Q. Fabius Maximus Aemylianus L. Hostilius Mancinus	De his Coss. Cicero in Lælio. Meminit huius Mancini Plinius lib. 36. capite quarto.
	2	610	COSS. Ser. Sulpitius Galba L. Aurelius Cotta	Suetonius in Galba huius meminit, ut puto, Sulpitij.

Top of the page: Florus in Epitome Livii lib. 49 et 51,[489] in sua vero lib. 2,[490] hoc bellum describit, quod quatuor omnino annis duravit. Caeterum urbis incendium per continuos 17 dies vix potuit extingui,[491] 23'000 passuum in circuitu obsessa.[492] 700 anno, quam condita fuit, inquit Florus, deleta est. Alii minorem ponunt numerum.

44 Inferior Scipio. Lucius Aemilius Paulus, qui Persea[493] vicit, cum quatuor haberet filios nec admodum dives, duos filios in alienas dedit familias. Alterum in Corneliam, et fuit hic Scipio inferior, qui delevit Carthaginem et Numantiam. Alterum in Fabiam gentem, et est, qui tertio hic sequitur anno. Caeterum triumphi tempore ex duobus reliquis, alterum ante triumphum, alterum post triumphum amisit.[494]

47 Hic Corinthum diruit.

50 Sextus Q. Fabius Maximus.

At the bottom of the page: 609.) Ptolemeus Euergetes secundus.[495] Septimus Alexandrie ac Aegipti rex annis 29, quem et Visconem[496] nominant, [ait][497] Strabo [libro ultimo[498]].[499] Val. Max.[500][,] Iustinus[501] et Florus.[502] Hic praecedentis regis frater fuit non filius, mortalium nequissimus.

[489] Florus, *Epitome Livii*, Venice, Aldus, 1521, f. 26r–29v.

[490] Glareanus refers to Florus' "Epitome Livii" as Livy's own work (sua [Epitome]) the "Epitome of Roman History". The "Epitome Livii" is not published in modern editions, such as the Loeb Classical Library, but appears in older ones, such as the edition published by Aldus in Venice in 1521. This imprint was also owned by the reformer Huldrych Zwingli, a contemporary of Glareanus (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, call number: V W 71). Glareanus's own copy has not survived, cf.: Iain Fenlon, "Heinrich Glarean's Library and the Uses of Classical Learning: The Ancient World Imagined," in Nicoletta Guidobaldi (ed.), *Presenze dell'antico nell'immaginario musicale del rinascimento*, Musica e Storia 15 (2007), pp. 89–102.

[491] Florus, Epitome of Roman History, I,31,18: "Quippe per continuos decem et septem dies vix potuit incendium extingui …". The reference belongs according to the edition of the Loeb Classical Library to book 1.

[492] Florus, *Epitome Livii* 51, Venice, Aldus, 1521, f. 29r.

[493] Persem.

[494] Strabo, XVII, 1, 1; Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, IX, 1, ext. 5; Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 38, 8; 39, 2–3.

[495] Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II. (ca. 180–116 BC).

[496] The nickname Physcon means sausage, because Ptolemaios VIII. was quite fat. In the Paris Copy the word is written with "ph" (Physconem), here with a "v" (Visconem) at the beginning. This could be evidence for a mistake caused by mishearing, but could also be a scribal error.

[497] According to the Paris Copy.

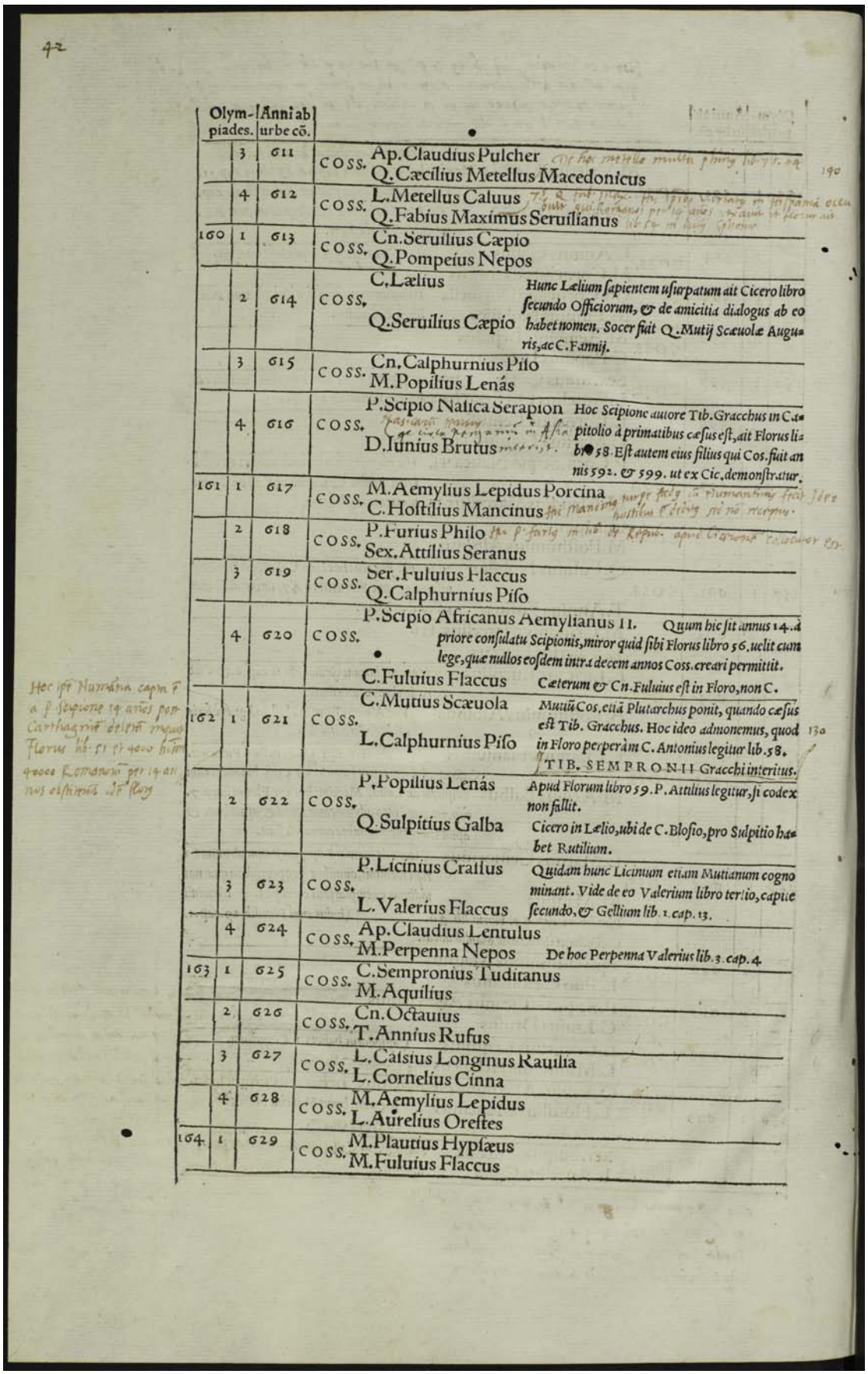
[498] Strabo, XVII, 1, 11.

[499] According to the Paris Copy.

[500] Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, IX, 1, ext. 5.

[501] Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, 34,2; 38,8.

[502] Florus, *Epitome*, II, 13, 55.



Olympiades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.		
	3	611	COSS.	Ap. Claudius Pulcher Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus
	4	612	COSS.	L. Metellus Caluus Q. Fabius Maximus Seruilianus
160	1	613	COSS.	Cn. Seruilius Cæpio Q. Pompeius Nepos
	2	614	COSS.	C. Lælius Q. Seruilius Cæpio — *Hunc Lælium sapientem usurpatum ait Cicero libro secundo Officiorum, & de amicitia dialogus ab eo habet nomen. Socer fuit Q. Mutij Scæuolæ Augu ris, ac C. Fannij.*
	3	615	COSS.	Cn. Calphurnius Piso M. Popilius Lenas
	4	616	COSS.	P. Scipio Nasica Serapion D. Iunius Brutus — *Hoc Scipione autore Tib. Gracchus in Ca pitolio à primatibus cæsus est, ait Florus li b. 58. Est autem eius filius qui Cos. fuit an nis 592. & 599. ut ex Cic. demonstratur.*
161	1	617	COSS.	M. Aemylius Lepidus Porcina C. Hostilius Mancinus
	2	618	COSS.	P. Furius Philo Sex. Attilius Seranus
	3	619	COSS.	Ser. Fuluius Flaccus Q. Calphurnius Piso
	4	620	COSS.	P. Scipio Africanus Aemylianus II. — *Quum hic sit annus 14. à priore consulatu Scipionis, miror quid sibi Florus libro 56. uelit cum lege, quæ nullos eosdem intra decem annos Coss. creari permittit.* C. Fuluius Flaccus — *Cæterum & Cn. Fuluius est in Floro, non C.*
162	1	621	COSS.	C. Mutius Scæuola L. Calphurnius Piso — *Mutiũ Cos. etiã Plutarchus ponit, quando cæsus est Tib. Gracchus. Hoc ideo admonemus, quod in Floro perperàm C. Antonius legitur lib. 58.* TIB. SEMPRONII *Gracchi interitus.*
	2	622	COSS.	P. Popilius Lenas Q. Sulpitius Galba — *Apud Florum libro 59. P. Attilius legitur, si codex non fallit.* *Cicero in Lælio, ubi de C. Blosio, pro Sulpitio ha bet Rutilium.*
	3	623	COSS.	P. Licinius Crassus L. Valerius Flaccus — *Quidam hunc Licinium etiam Mutianum cogno minant. Vide de eo Valerium libro tertio, capite secundo, & Gellium lib. 1. cap. 13.*
	4	624	COSS.	Ap. Claudius Lentulus M. Perpenna Nepos — *De hoc Perpenna Valerius lib. 3. cap. 4.*
163	1	625	COSS.	C. Sempronius Tuditanus M. Aquilius
	2	626	COSS.	Cn. Octauius T. Annius Rufus
	3	627	COSS.	L. Caisius Longinus Rauilla L. Cornelius Cinna
	4	628	COSS.	M. Aemylius Lepidus L. Aurelius Orestes
164	1	629	COSS.	M. Plautius Hypsæus M. Fuluius Flaccus

3 De hoc Metello multa Plinius lib. 7, c. 44.[503]

5 Septimus Q. Fab. Max. His temporibus Viriatus[504] in Hispania occubuit, qui Romanos per 14 annos vexavit, ut Florus ait lib. 54 in Livii Epitome.[505]

16 Nasicarum tertius, qui circa Pergamum in Asia interiit.

20 Hic Mancinus turpe foedus cum Numantinis fecit. Ideo hostibus est deditus, sed non receptus.

21 Hic P. Furius in lib. de Repub. apud Ciceronem collocutor est.

29 Hoc ipse Numantia capta est a P. Scipione, 14 annos[506] post Carthaginem deletam, inquit Florus lib. 51,[507] et 4'000 hominum 40'000 Romanorum per 14 annos[508] obstiterunt. Idem Florus.

---

[503] Pliny, *Natural History*, VII, 13, 59; VII, 43, 139–143; 146, 153.

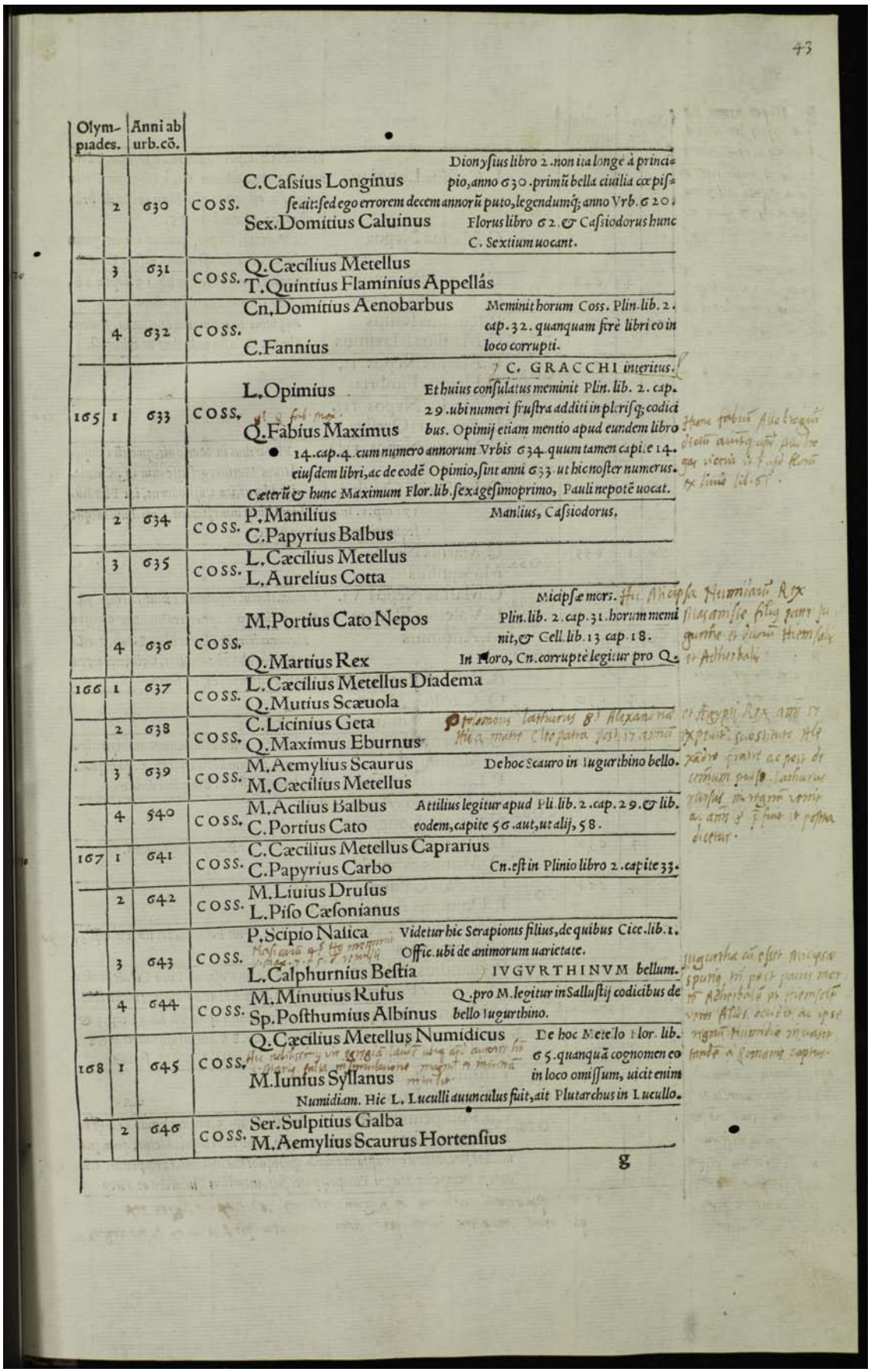
[504] Viriatus was the leader of the Lusitanians in the Lusitanian War (154–133 BC).

[505] Florus, *Epitome*, Venice, Aldus, 1521, f. 30v. Cf. Florus, *Epitome*, I, 33, 15.

[506] Anno (as in the Paris Copy).

[507] Not Florus, chapter 51, but 59: Florus, *Epitome*, Venice, Aldus, 1521, f. 33r.

[508] Florus, *Epitome*, I, 34, 2: "… per annos undecim sola sustinuit, …".



43

Olym-piades.		Anni ab urb. cõ.		
	2	630	COSS.	C. Cassius Longinus Sex. Domitius Caluinus
	3	631	COSS.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus T. Quintius Flaminius Appellas
	4	632	COSS.	Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus C. Fannius
165	1	633	COSS.	L. Opimius Q. Fabius Maximus
	2	634	COSS.	P. Manilius C. Papyrius Balbus
	3	635	COSS.	L. Cæcilius Metellus L. Aurelius Cotta
	4	636	COSS.	M. Portius Cato Nepos Q. Martius Rex
166	1	637	COSS.	L. Cæcilius Metellus Diadema Q. Mutius Scæuola
	2	638	COSS.	C. Licinius Geta Q. Maximus Eburnus
	3	639	COSS.	M. Aemylius Scaurus M. Cæcilius Metellus
	4	540	COSS.	M. Acilius Balbus C. Portius Cato
167	1	641	COSS.	C. Cæcilius Metellus Caprarius C. Papyrius Carbo
	2	642	COSS.	M. Liuius Drusus L. Piso Cæsonianus
	3	643	COSS.	P. Scipio Nasica L. Calphurnius Bestia
	4	644	COSS.	M. Minutius Rufus Sp. Posthumius Albinus
168	1	645	COSS.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus M. Iunius Syllanus
	2	646	COSS.	Ser. Sulpitius Galba M. Aemylius Scaurus Hortensius

Dionysius libro 2. non ita longe à principio, anno 630. primũ bella ciuilia cœpisse ait: sed ego errorem decem annorũ puto, legendumq; anno Vrb. 620. Florus libro 62. & Cassiodorus hunc C. Sextium uocant.

Meminit horum Coss. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 32. quanquam ferè libri eo in loco corrupti.

C. GRACCHI interitus.

Et huius consulatus meminit Plin. lib. 2. cap. 29. ubi numeri frustra additi in plerisq; codicibus. Opimij etiam mentio apud eundem libro 14. cap. 4. cum numero annorum Vrbis 634. quum tamen capite 14. eiusdem libri, ac de eodẽ Opimio, sint anni 633. ut hic noster numerus. Cæterũ & hunc Maximum Flor. lib. sexagesimoprimo, Pauli nepotẽ uocat.

Manlius, Cassiodorus.

Micipsæ mors.

Plin. lib. 2. cap. 31. horum meminit, & Cell. lib. 13 cap. 18.

In Moro, Cn. corruptè legitur pro Q.

De hoc Scauro in Iugurthino bello.

Attilius legitur apud Pli. lib. 2. cap. 29. & lib. eodem, capite 56. aut, ut alij, 58.

Cn. est in Plinio libro 2. capite 33.

Videtur hic Serapionis filius, de quibus Cicc. lib. 1. Offic. ubi de animorum uarietate.

IVGVRTHINVM bellum.

Q. pro M. legitur in Sallustij codicibus de bello Iugurthino.

De hoc Metello Flor. lib. 65. quanquã cognomen eo in loco omissum, uicit enim Numidiam. Hic L. Luculli auunculus fuit, ait Plutarchus in Lucullo.

15 Octavus Q. Fab. Max.

16 Hunc Fabium Allobrogium[509] dictum, aiunt, quod apud[510] Allobrogos vicerit, ut est apud Florum[511] ex Livio lib. 61.

24 Hic Micipsa Numidarum rex, Masanissae filius, pater Iugurthae et duorum Hiemsalis et Adherbalis

30 Ptolomeus Lathurus 8[us] [= octavus] Alexandriae et Aegyptii rex annis 17. Hic a matre Cleopatra post 17 annum expellitur, substituto Alexandro fratre ac post decimum pulso. Lathurus rursus in regnum venit ac annis 8 perfuit ut postea dicetur.

41 Nasicarum quartus. Huius meminit Val. Max. 7., c. 5 de repulsis.[512]

42 Iugurtha, cum esset Micipsae spurius, tamen post patris mortem Adherbalem[513] et Hiemsalem veros filios occidit ac ipse regnum Numidiae invasit, tandem a Romanis captus.

46 Hic nobilissimus vir egregiam laudem ubique apud autores habet. C. Marius[514] falsa insimulatione magnam ei iniuriam intulit.

---

509 Allobrogicum (as in the Paris Copy).

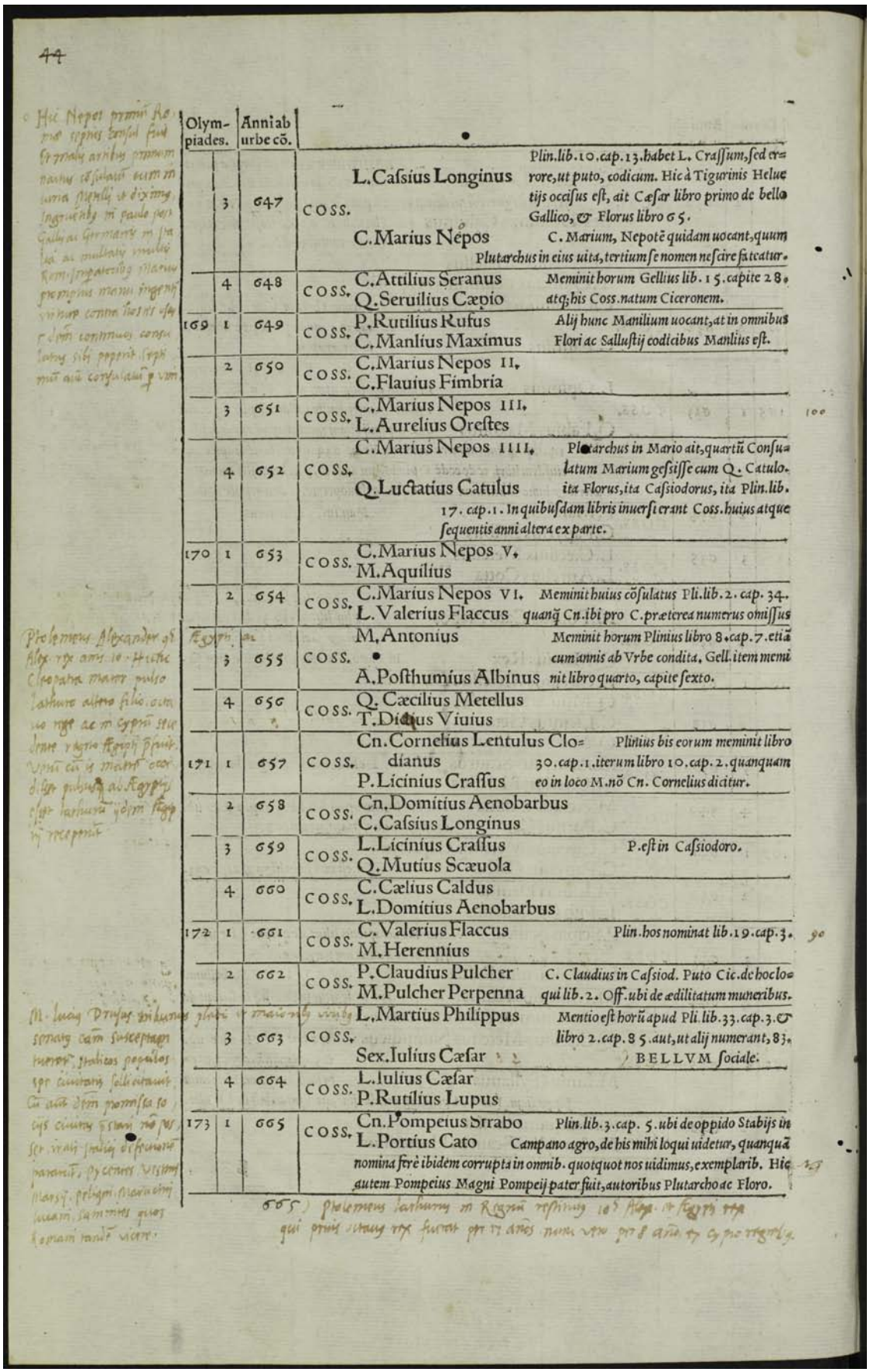
510 This word is superfluous.

511 Florus, *Epitome*, Venice, Aldus, 1521, f. 34r/v. Cf.: Florus, *Epitome*, I, 37, 6.

512 Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* VII, 5, 2.

513 The Paris Copy has "ad herbalem" (instead of "Adherbalem"), which could also be a hearing mistake.

514 Gaius Marius (156–86 BC).



Olympiades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.			
	3	647	COSS.	L. Cassius Longinus C. Marius Nepos	Plin. lib. 10. cap. 13. habet L. Crassium, sed errore, ut puto, codicum. Hic à Tigurinis Heluetijs occisus est, ait Cæsar libro primo de bello Gallico, & Florus libro 65. C. Marium, Nepotẽ quidam uocant, quum Plutarchus in eius uita, tertium se nomen nescire fatcatur.
	4	648	COSS.	C. Attilius Seranus Q. Seruilius Cæpio	Meminit horum Gellius lib. 15. capite 28. atq; his Coss. natum Ciceronem.
169	1	649	COSS.	P. Rutilius Rufus C. Manlius Maximus	Alij hunc Manilium uocant, at in omnibus Flori ac Salluſtij codicibus Manlius est.
	2	650	COSS.	C. Marius Nepos II. C. Flauius Fimbria	
	3	651	COSS.	C. Marius Nepos III. L. Aurelius Orestes	
	4	652	COSS.	C. Marius Nepos IIII. Q. Luctatius Catulus	Plutarchus in Mario ait, quartũ Consulatum Marium gessisse cum Q. Catulo. ita Florus, ita Cassiodorus, ita Plin. lib. 17. cap. 1. In quibusdam libris inuersi erant Coss. huius atque sequentis anni altera ex parte.
170	1	653	COSS.	C. Marius Nepos V. M. Aquilius	
	2	654	COSS.	C. Marius Nepos VI. L. Valerius Flaccus	Meminit huius cõsulatus Pli. lib. 2. cap. 34. quanq; Cn. ibi pro C. præterea numerus omissus
	3	655	COSS.	M. Antonius A. Posthumius Albinus	Meminit horum Plinius libro 8. cap. 7. etiã cum annis ab Vrbe condita, Gell. item memi nit libro quarto, capite sexto.
	4	656	COSS.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus T. Didius Viuius	
171	1	657	COSS.	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus P. Licinius Crassus	Plinius bis eorum meminit libro 30. cap. 1. iterum libro 10. cap. 2. quanquam eo in loco M. nõ Cn. Cornelius dicitur.
	2	658	COSS.	Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus C. Cassius Longinus	
	3	659	COSS.	L. Licinius Crassus Q. Mutius Scæuola	P. est in Cassiodoro.
	4	660	COSS.	C. Cælius Caldus L. Domitius Aenobarbus	
172	1	661	COSS.	C. Valerius Flaccus M. Herennius	Plin. hos nominat lib. 19. cap. 3.
	2	662	COSS.	P. Claudius Pulcher M. Pulcher Perpenna	C. Claudius in Cassiod. Puto Cic. de hoclo= qui lib. 2. Off. ubi de ædilitatum muneribus.
	3	663	COSS.	L. Martius Philippus Sex. Iulius Cæsar	Mentio est horũ apud Pli. lib. 33. cap. 3. & libro 2. cap. 85. aut, ut alij numerant, 83. BELLVM sociale.
	4	664	COSS.	L. Iulius Cæsar P. Rutilius Lupus	
173	1	665	COSS.	Cn. Pompeius Strabo L. Portius Cato	Plin. lib. 3. cap. 5. ubi de oppido Stabijs in Campano agro, de his mihi loqui uidetur, quanquã nomina ferè ibidem corrupta in omnib. quotquot nos uidimus, exemplarib. Hic autem Pompeius Magni Pompeij pater fuit, autoribus Plutarcho ac Floro.

1 Hic Nepos[515] primum Romae septies consul fuit et malis artibus primum nactus consulatum cum iniuria Metelli,[516] ut diximus. Ingruentibus tamen paulo post Gallis ac Germanis in Italia[517] ac multatis multis Rom[anorum] imperatoribus Marius promptus manu ingenti virtute contra hostes usus, 5 deinde continuos consulatus sibi peperit. Septimum autem consulatum per vim.

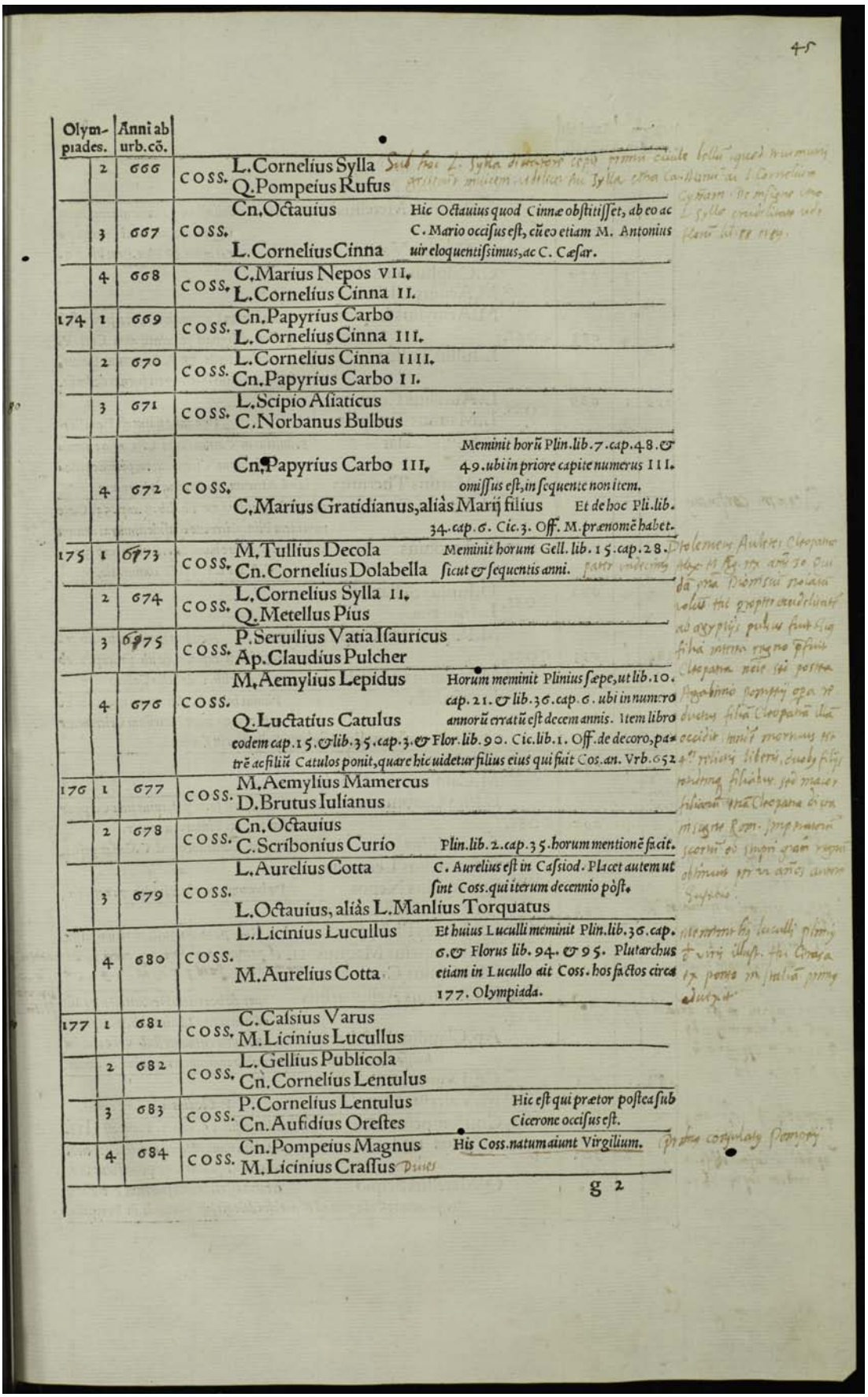
26 Ptolemeus Alexander 9^{us} [= nonus] Aegypti ac Alex. rex annis 10. Hunc Cleopatra mater pulso Lathuro[518] altero filio octavo rege ac in Cyprum secedente regno Aegipti praefuit. Verum cum is matrem occidisset pulsusque ab Aegyptiis esset, Lathurum iidem[519] Aegyptii receperunt.

44 M. Lucius[520] Drusus[521] tribunus plebis, ut maioribus viribus senatus causam susceptam tueretur, italicos populos spe civitatis sollicitavit. Cum autem deinde promissa sociis civitas praestari non posset, irati Italici defectionem pararunt. Pycentes,[522] Vestini, Marsii,[523] Peligni,[524] Marucini,[525] Lucani, Samnites, quos Romani tandem vicere.[526]

53 665.) Ptolemeus Lathurus in regnum restitutus 10^{us} [= decimus] Alexandrie et Aegypti rex, qui prius octavus rex fuerat per 17 annos. Nunc vero per 8 annos ex Cypro regressus.[527]

---

515 Gaius Marius (156–86 BC).
516 Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (died 91 BC).
517 Italiam (as in the Paris Copy).
518 The nickname Lathyros means "grass pea".
519 Idem.
520 Livius (as in the Paris Copy).
521 Marcus Livius Drusus the Younger (ca. 124–91 BC).
522 Picentes.
523 Marsi.
524 Paeligni.
525 Marrucini.
526 Cf. Florus, *Epitome*, II, 6, 1–14.
527 Egressus (as in the Paris Copy).



Olym-piades.		Anni ab urb.cõ.			
	2	666	COSS.	L.Cornelius Sylla Q.Pompeius Rufus	
	3	667	COSS.	Cn.Octauius L.Cornelius Cinna	Hic Octauius quod Cinnæ obstitisset, ab eo ac C. Mario occisus est, cũ eo etiam M. Antonius uir eloquentissimus, ac C. Cæsar.
	4	668	COSS.	C.Marius Nepos VII. L.Cornelius Cinna II.	
174	1	669	COSS.	Cn.Papyrius Carbo L.Cornelius Cinna III.	
	2	670	COSS.	L.Cornelius Cinna IIII. Cn.Papyrius Carbo II.	
	3	671	COSS.	L.Scipio Asiaticus C.Norbanus Bulbus	
	4	672	COSS.	Cn.Papyrius Carbo III. C.Marius Gratidianus, aliàs Marij filius	Meminit horũ Plin.lib.7.cap.48.& 49.ubi in priore capite numerus III. omissus est, in sequente non item. Et de hoc Pli.lib. 34.cap.6. Cic.3. Off. M.prænomẽ habet.
175	1	673	COSS.	M.Tullius Decola Cn.Cornelius Dolabella	Meminit horum Gell. lib. 15.cap.28. sicut & sequentis anni.
	2	674	COSS.	L.Cornelius Sylla II. Q.Metellus Pius	
	3	675	COSS.	P.Seruilius Vatia Isauricus Ap.Claudius Pulcher	
	4	676	COSS.	M.Aemylius Lepidus Q.Luctatius Catulus	Horum meminit Plinius sæpe, ut lib.10. cap.21.& lib.36.cap.6. ubi in numero annorũ erratũ est decem annis. Item libro eodem cap.15.& lib.35.cap.3.& Flor. lib.90. Cic.lib.1. Off. de decoro, patrẽ ac filiũ Catulos ponit, quare hic uidetur filius eius qui fuit Cos. an. Vrb.652
176	1	677	COSS.	M.Aemylius Mamercus D.Brutus Iulianus	
	2	678	COSS.	Cn.Octauius C.Scribonius Curio	Plin.lib.2.cap.35.horum mentionẽ facit.
	3	679	COSS.	L.Aurelius Cotta L.Octauius, aliàs L.Manlius Torquatus	C. Aurelius est in Casiod. Placet autem ut sint Coss.qui iterum decennio pòst.
	4	680	COSS.	L.Licinius Lucullus M.Aurelius Cotta	Et huius Luculli meminit Plin.lib.36.cap. 6.& Florus lib. 94.& 95. Plutarchus etiam in Lucullo ait Coss. hos factos circa 177. Olympiada.
177	1	681	COSS.	C.Calsius Varus M.Licinius Lucullus	
	2	682	COSS.	L.Gellius Publicola Cn.Cornelius Lentulus	
	3	683	COSS.	P.Cornelius Lentulus Cn.Aufidius Orestes	Hic est qui prætor postea sub Cicerone occisus est.
	4	684	COSS.	Cn.Pompeius Magnus M.Licinius Crassus	His Coss.natum aiunt Virgilium.

3 Sub hoc L. Sylla[528] dictatore cepit primum civile bellum, quod triumviri gesserunt invicem, videlicet hic Sylla contra Ca. Marium ac L. Cornelium Cynnam.[529] De insigne[530] vero L. Syllae crudelitate vide Florum, lib. 88 et 89.[531]

21 Ptolemeus Auletes, Cleopatrae pater, undecimus,[532] Alex. et Aeg[ypti] rex annis 30. Quidam etiam Dionisium[533] nominatum volunt. Hic propter crudelitatem ab Aegyptiis pulsus fuit. Eius filia interea regno praefuit Cleopatra[534] nomine, sed postea Agabinio[535] Pompeii opera reductus, filiam Cleopatram illam occidit. Tandem mortuus est, 4^{or} [= quatuor] relictis liberis, duobus filiis totidemque filiabus, sed maior filiarum etiam Cleopatra[536] dicta, insigne Rom[anorum] imperatorum scortum ob stupri gratiam regnum obtinuit per 22 annos, autore Eusebio.[537]

39 Meminit huius Luculli Plinius de viris illustribus.[538] Hic Cerasa[539] ex ponto in Italiam primus advexit.

49 Primus consulatus Pompeii.[540]

50 Dives

---

528 Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix (ca. 138/134–78 BC).

529 Lucius Cornelius Cinna (ca. 130–84 BC).

530 Insigni.

531 Florus, *Epitome*, Venice, Aldus, 1521, f. 42v–43v.

532 Ptolemaios XII. (ca. 115/107–51 BC).

533 He choose the name "Neos Dionysos" because of the widespread cult of the greek god Dionysos.

534 Cleopatra Berenike, i.e. Berenike IV.

535 "Sed postea a Gabinio … reductus". Aulus Gabinius, Roman politician and devoted follower of Pompeius (died 48/47 BC).

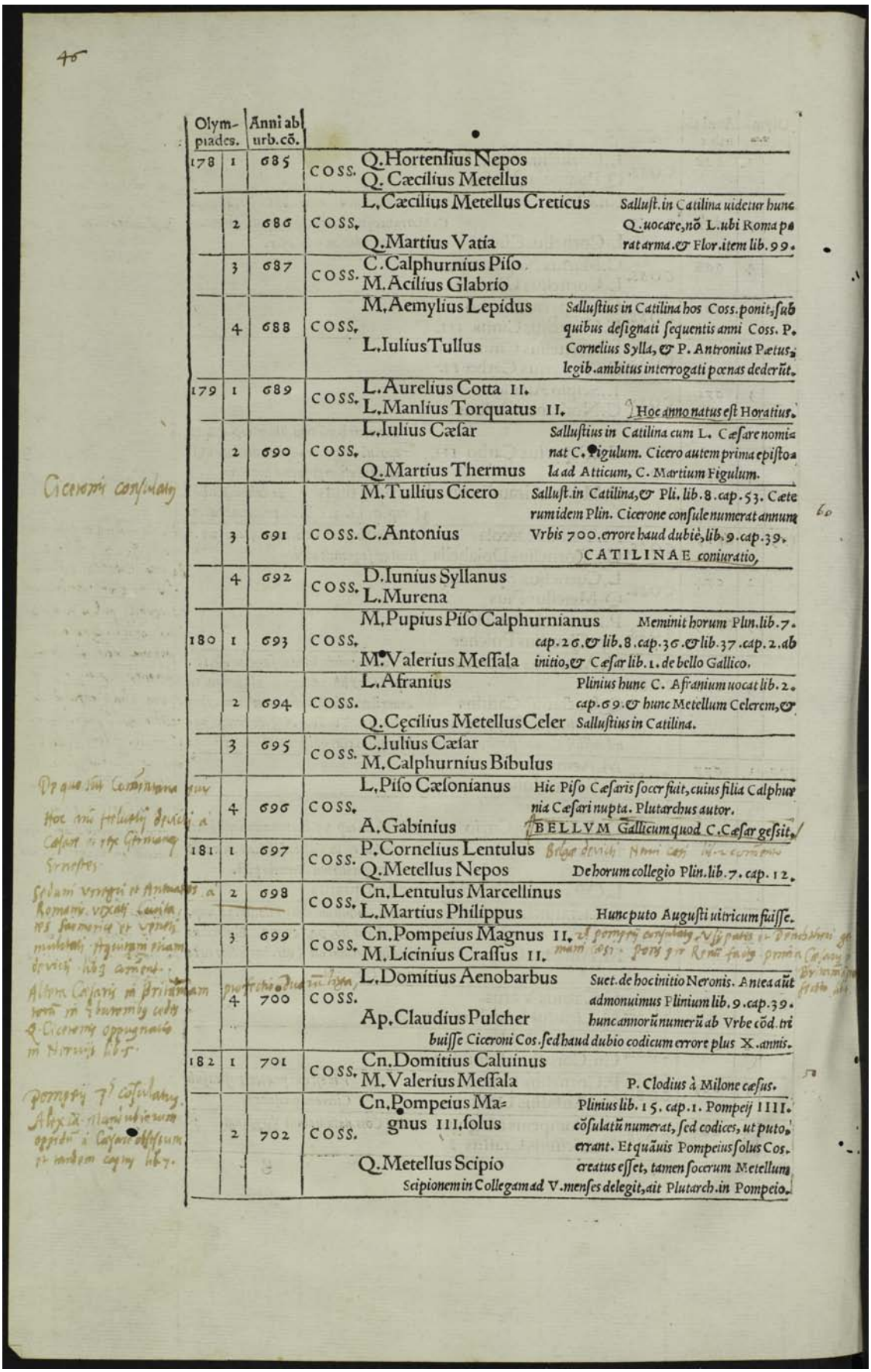
536 Cleopatra VII.

537 Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicle*, a. Abr. 1958.

538 Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 74.

539 Cerasa = cherries.

540 Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus became consul in 70 BC. During the same year the poet Vergil was born.

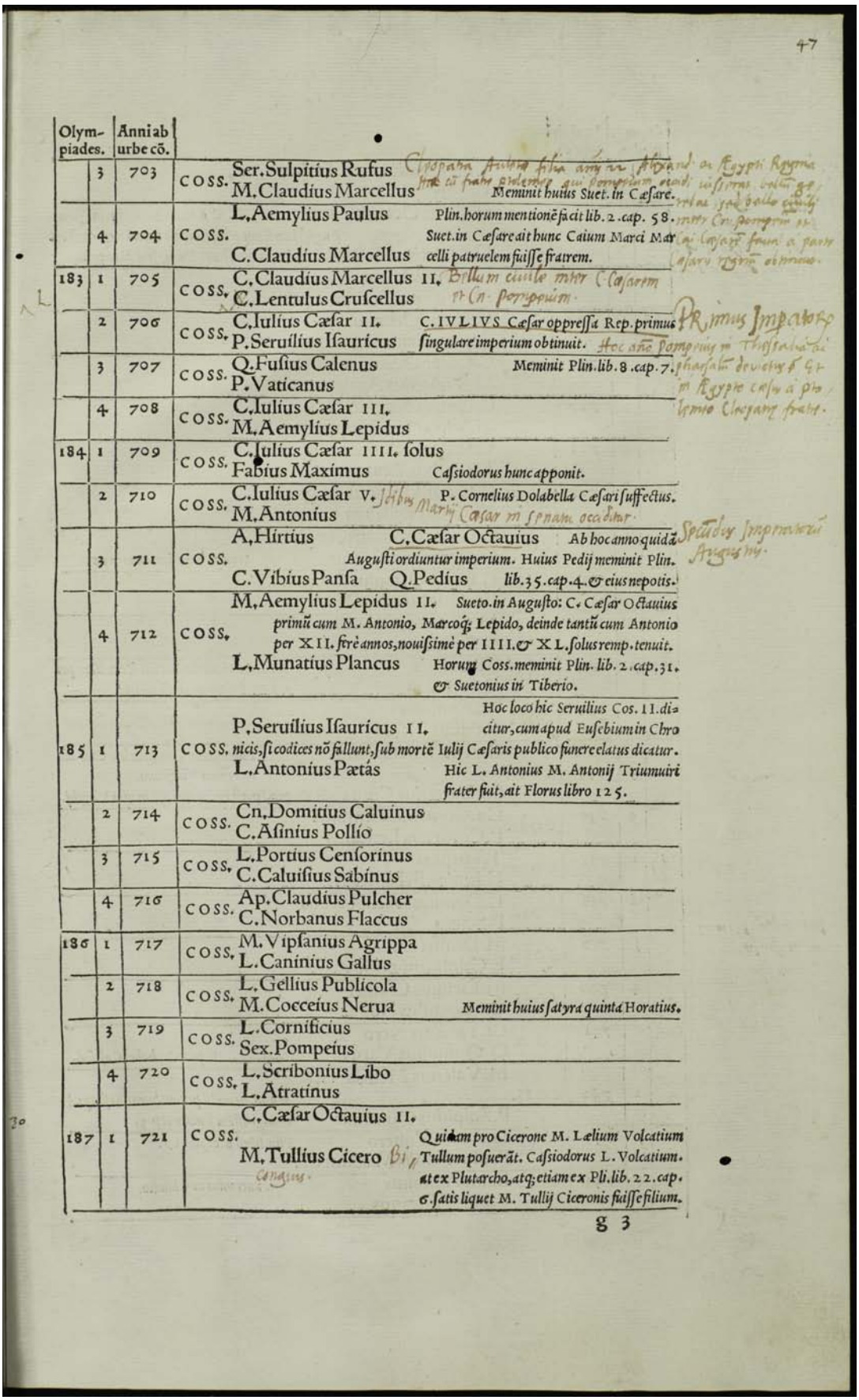


Olympiades.		Anni ab urb. cõ.			
178	1	685	COSS.	Q. Hortensius Nepos Q. Cæcilius Metellus	
	2	686	COSS.	L. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus Q. Martius Vatia	Sallust. in Catilina uidetur hunc Q. uocare, nõ L. ubi Roma pa rat arma. & Flor. item lib. 99.
	3	687	COSS.	C. Calphurnius Piso M. Acilius Glabrio	
	4	688	COSS.	M. Aemylius Lepidus L. Iulius Tullus	Sallustius in Catilina hos Coss. ponit, sub quibus designati sequentis anni Coss. P. Cornelius Sylla, & P. Antronius Pætus, legib. ambitus interrogati pœnas dederũt.
179	1	689	COSS.	L. Aurelius Cotta II. L. Manlius Torquatus II.	Hoc anno natus est Horatius.
	2	690	COSS.	L. Iulius Cæsar Q. Martius Thermus	Sallustius in Catilina cum L. Cæsare nomi nat C. Figulum. Cicero autem prima epistola ad Atticum, C. Martium Figulum.
	3	691	COSS.	M. Tullius Cicero C. Antonius	Sallust. in Catilina, & Pli. lib. 8. cap. 53. Cæte rum idem Plin. Cicerone consule numerat annum Vrbis 700. errore haud dubiè, lib. 9. cap. 39. CATILINAE coniuratio,
	4	692	COSS.	D. Iunius Syllanus L. Murena	
180	1	693	COSS.	M. Pupius Piso Calphurnianus M. Valerius Messala	Meminit horum Plin. lib. 7. cap. 26. & lib. 8. cap. 36. & lib. 37. cap. 2. ab initio, & Cæsar lib. 1. de bello Gallico.
	2	694	COSS.	L. Afranius Q. Cęcilius Metellus Celer	Plinius hunc C. Afranium uocat lib. 2. cap. 69. & hunc Metellum Celerem, & Sallustius in Catilina.
	3	695	COSS.	C. Iulius Cæsar M. Calphurnius Bibulus	
	4	696	COSS.	L. Piso Cæsonianus A. Gabinius	Hic Piso Cæsaris socer fuit, cuius filia Calphur nia Cæsari nupta. Plutarchus autor. BELLVM Gallicum quod C. Cæsar gesit.
181	1	697	COSS.	P. Cornelius Lentulus Q. Metellus Nepos	De horum collegio Plin. lib. 7. cap. 12.
	2	698	COSS.	Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus L. Martius Philippus	Hunc puto Augusti uitricum fuisse.
	3	699	COSS.	Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.	
	4	700	COSS.	L. Domitius Aenobarbus Ap. Claudius Pulcher	Suet. de hoc initio Neronis. Antea aũt admonuimus Plinium lib. 9. cap. 39. hunc annorũ numerũ ab Vrbe cõd. tri buisse Ciceroni Cos. sed haud dubio codicum errore plus X. annis.
182	1	701	COSS.	Cn. Domitius Caluinus M. Valerius Messala	P. Clodius à Milone cæsus.
	2	702	COSS.	Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. solus Q. Metellus Scipio	Plinius lib. 15. cap. 1. Pompeij IIII. cõsulatũ numerat, sed codices, ut puto, errant. Et quãuis Pompeius solus Cos. creatus esset, tamen socerum Metellum Scipionem in Collegam ad V. menses delegit, ait Plutarch. in Pompeio.

19 Ciceronis consulatus.
33 De quo sunt commentaria eius.
35 Hoc anno Helvetii devicti a Caesare et rex Germanorum Ernestes.[541]
36 Belgae devicti. Nervi[542] Caes. lib 2 comment.[543]
38 Seduni veregri[544] et Antuates a Romanis vexati, civitates Sarmorice[545] [devictae][546] et Veneti mulctati. Aquitani etiam devicti. Lib. 3 comment.[547]
40 Secundus Pompeii consulatus. Usiipates et Denchtheri[548] Germani caesi. Pons per Renum factus. Prima Caesaris in Britanniam profectio, lib. 4.[549]
42 Altera Caesaris in Britanniam profectio. Duorum legatorum in Eburonibus caedes. Q. Ciceronis oppugnatio in Nerviis, lib. 5.[550]
48 Pompeii tertius consulatus. Alexiam[551] Mandubiorum oppidum a Caesare obsessum et tandem captus lib. 7.[552]

---

[541] The meaning of Ernestes or Ernestus (Paris Copy) is not clear.
[542] The tribe of the "Nervii" (as in the Paris Copy).
[543] Gaius Iulius Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, 2, 2, 28.
[544] Peregri (as in the Paris Copy).
[545] Armoricae (as in the Paris Copy).
[546] As in the Paris Copy.
[547] Gaius Iulius Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, 3, 20–27.
[548] Usipetes et Tencteri were two tribes who originally lived in Westfalen or Hessen and belonged to the La Tène-culture.
[549] Gaius Iulius Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, 4, 20–36.
[550] *Idem*, 5, 1–23.
[551] Alesiam Mandubiorum.
[552] Gaius Iulius Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, 7, 68–89.



47

Olym-piades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.			
	3	703	COSS.	Ser. Sulpitius Rufus M. Claudius Marcellus	Meminit huius Suet. in Cæsare.
	4	704	COSS.	L. Aemylius Paulus C. Claudius Marcellus	Plin. horum mentionẽ facit lib. 2. cap. 58. Suet. in Cæsare ait hunc Caium Marcelli patruelem fuisse fratrem.
183	1	705	COSS.	C. Claudius Marcellus II. C. Lentulus Crusicellus	
	2	706	COSS.	C. Iulius Cæsar II. P. Seruilius Isauricus	C. IVLIVS Cæsar oppressa Rep. primus singulare imperium obtinuit.
	3	707	COSS.	Q. Fusius Calenus P. Vaticanus	Meminit Plin. lib. 8. cap. 7.
	4	708	COSS.	C. Iulius Cæsar III. M. Aemylius Lepidus	
184	1	709	COSS.	C. Iulius Cæsar IIII. solus Fabius Maximus	Cassiodorus hunc apponit.
	2	710	COSS.	C. Iulius Cæsar V. M. Antonius	P. Cornelius Dolabella Cæsari suffectus.
	3	711	COSS.	A. Hirtius C. Cæsar Octauius C. Vibius Pansa Q. Pedius	Ab hoc anno quidã Augusti ordiuntur imperium. Huius Pedij meminit Plin. lib. 35. cap. 4. & eius nepotis.
	4	712	COSS.	M. Aemylius Lepidus II. L. Munatius Plancus	Sueto. in Augusto: C. Cæsar Octauius primũ cum M. Antonio, Marcoq; Lepido, deinde tantũ cum Antonio per XII. ferè annos, nouissimè per IIII. & XL. solus remp. tenuit. Horum Coss. meminit Plin. lib. 2. cap. 31. & Suetonius in Tiberio.
185	1	713	COSS.	P. Seruilius Isauricus II. L. Antonius Pætus	Hoc loco hic Seruilius Cos. II. dicitur, cum apud Eusebium in Chronicis, si codices nõ fallunt, sub mortẽ Iulij Cæsaris publico funere elatus dicatur. Hic L. Antonius M. Antonij Triumuiri frater fuit, ait Florus libro 125.
	2	714	COSS.	Cn. Domitius Caluinus C. Asinius Pollio	
	3	715	COSS.	L. Portius Censorinus C. Caluisius Sabinus	
	4	716	COSS.	Ap. Claudius Pulcher C. Norbanus Flaccus	
186	1	717	COSS.	M. Vipsanius Agrippa L. Caninius Gallus	
	2	718	COSS.	L. Gellius Publicola M. Coeceius Nerua	Meminit huius satyra quinta Horatius.
	3	719	COSS.	L. Cornificius Sex. Pompeius	
	4	720	COSS.	L. Scribonius Libo L. Atratinus	
187	1	721	COSS.	C. Cæsar Octauius II. M. Tullius Cicero	Quidam pro Cicerone M. Lælium Volcatium Tullum posuerãt. Cassiodorus L. Volcatium. at ex Plutarcho, atq; etiam ex Pli. lib. 22. cap. 6. satis liquet M. Tullij Ciceronis fuisse filium.

3 Cleopatra Auletae filia annis 22 Alexand[riae] ac Aegypti regina. Haec cum fratre Ptolemeo, qui Pompeium occidi iusserat, bellum gerebat, sed bello civili inter Cn. Pompeium et Cai. Caesarem facta, a parte Caesaris regnum obtinuit.

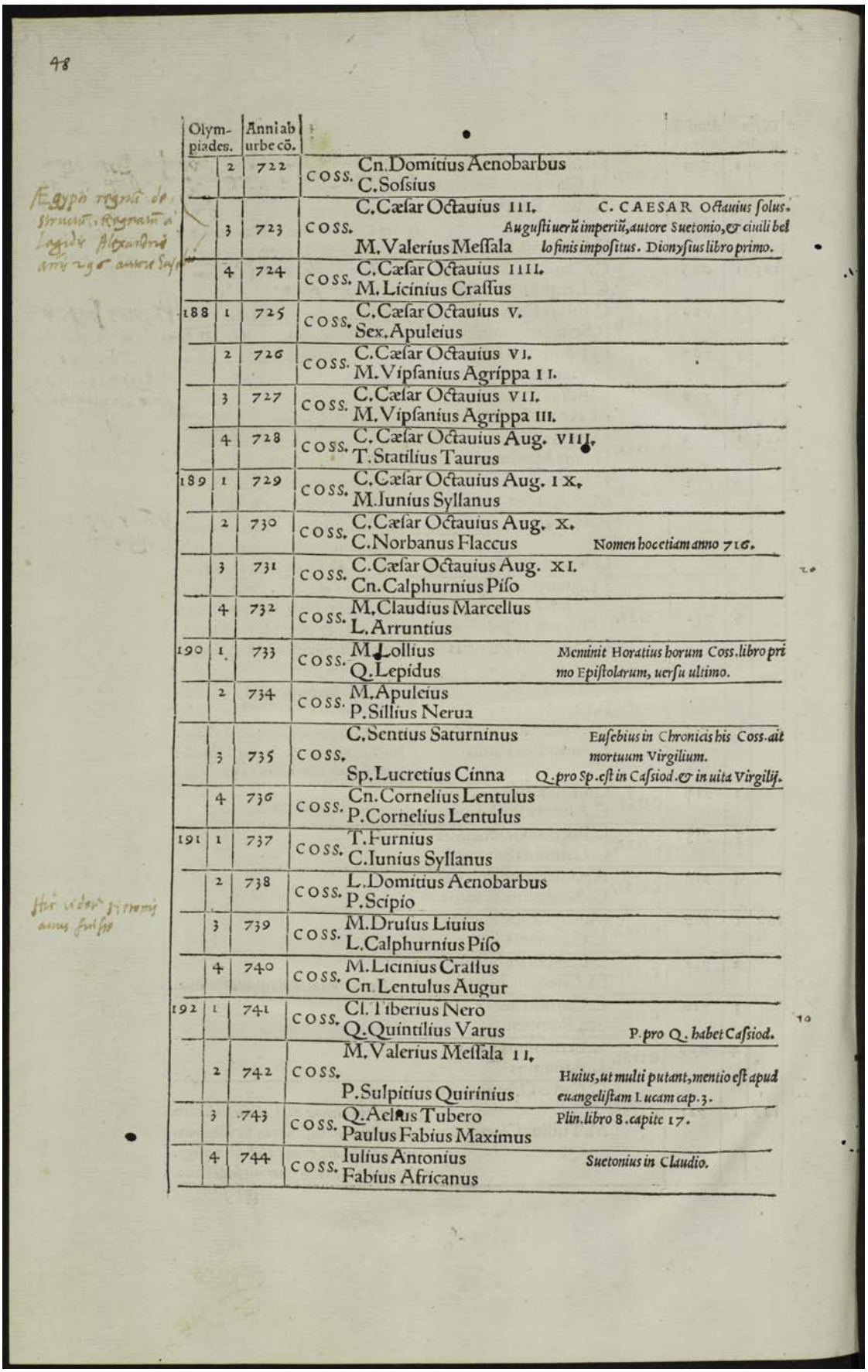
8 Bellum civile inter C. Caesarem et Cn. Pompeium.

10 Primus imperator. Hoc anno Pompeius in Thessalia ad Pharsalum devictus est et in Aegypto caesus ab Ptolemeo Cleopatre fratre.

18 Idibus Martii Caesar in senatu occiditur.

20 Secundus imperatorum Augustus.

49 Bicongius.



48

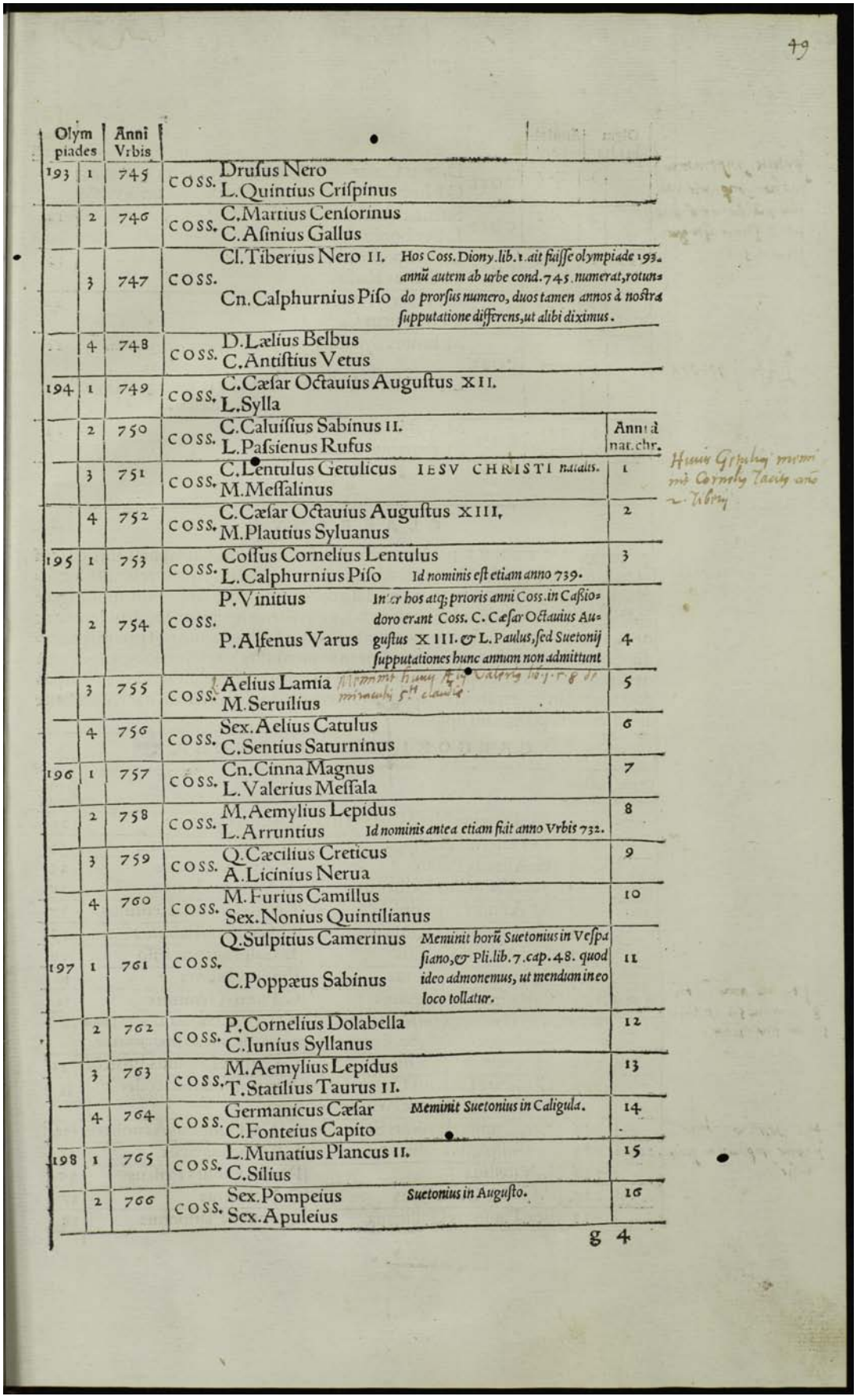
Olympiades.		Anni ab urbe cõ.	
	2	722	COSS. Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus C. Sosius
	3	723	COSS. C. Cæsar Octauius III. C. CAESAR Octauius solus. Augusti uerũ imperiũ, autore Suetonio, & ciuili bel M. Valerius Messala lo finis impositus. Dionysius libro primo.
	4	724	COSS. C. Cæsar Octauius IIII. M. Licinius Crassus
188	1	725	COSS. C. Cæsar Octauius V. Sex. Apuleius
	2	726	COSS. C. Cæsar Octauius VI. M. Vipsanius Agrippa II.
	3	727	COSS. C. Cæsar Octauius VII. M. Vipsanius Agrippa III.
	4	728	COSS. C. Cæsar Octauius Aug. VIII. T. Statilius Taurus
189	1	729	COSS. C. Cæsar Octauius Aug. IX. M. Iunius Syllanus
	2	730	COSS. C. Cæsar Octauius Aug. X. C. Norbanus Flaccus Nomen hoc etiam anno 716.
	3	731	COSS. C. Cæsar Octauius Aug. XI. Cn. Calphurnius Piso
	4	732	COSS. M. Claudius Marcellus L. Arruntius
190	1	733	COSS. M. Lollius Meminit Horatius horum Coss. libro pri Q. Lepidus mo Epistolarum, uersu ultimo.
	2	734	COSS. M. Apuleius P. Sillius Nerua
	3	735	COSS. C. Sentius Saturninus Eusebius in Chronicis his Coss. ait mortuum Virgilium. Sp. Lucretius Cinna Q. pro Sp. est in Cassiod. & in uita Virgilij.
	4	736	COSS. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus P. Cornelius Lentulus
191	1	737	COSS. T. Furnius C. Iunius Syllanus
	2	738	COSS. L. Domitius Aenobarbus P. Scipio
	3	739	COSS. M. Drusus Liuius L. Calphurnius Piso
	4	740	COSS. M. Licinius Crassus Cn. Lentulus Augur
192	1	741	COSS. Cl. Tiberius Nero Q. Quintilius Varus P. pro Q. habet Cassiod.
	2	742	COSS. M. Valerius Messala II. P. Sulpitius Quirinius Huius, ut multi putant, mentio est apud euangelistam Lucam cap. 3.
	3	743	COSS. Q. Aelius Tubero Plin. libro 8. capite 17. Paulus Fabius Maximus
	4	744	COSS. Iulius Antonius Suetonius in Claudio. Fabius Africanus

6 Aegypti regnum destructum, regnatum a Lagidis[553] Alexandrie annis 296, autore Eusebio[554]

38 Hic videtur Neronis avus fuisse.

[553] The first of the Ptolemies was Ptolemaeus Lagi (Soter). That was the reason why the Ptolemies were often called Lagidae (German: Lagiden).

[554] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicle*, Ol. 187.



Olympiades		Anni Vrbis			Anni à nat. chr.
193	1	745	COSS.	Druſus Nero L. Quintius Criſpinus	
	2	746	COSS.	C. Martius Cenſorinus C. Aſinius Gallus	
	3	747	COSS.	Cl. Tiberius Nero II. Cn. Calphurnius Piſo	Hos Coss. Diony. lib. 1. ait fuiſſe olympiade 193. annũ autem ab urbe cond. 745. numerat, rotundo prorſus numero, duos tamen annos à noſtra ſupputatione differens, ut alibi diximus.
	4	748	COSS.	D. Lælius Belbus C. Antiſtius Vetus	
194	1	749	COSS.	C. Cæſar Octauius Auguſtus XII. L. Sylla	
	2	750	COSS.	C. Caluiſius Sabinus II. L. Paſsienus Rufus	
	3	751	COSS.	C. Lentulus Getulicus M. Meſſalinus	IESV CHRISTI natalis. 1
	4	752	COSS.	C. Cæſar Octauius Auguſtus XIII. M. Plautius Syluanus	2
195	1	753	COSS.	Coſſus Cornelius Lentulus L. Calphurnius Piſo	Id nominis eſt etiam anno 739. 3
	2	754	COSS.	P. Vinitius P. Alfenus Varus	Inter hos atq; prioris anni Coss. in Caſſiodoro erant Coss. C. Cæſar Octauius Auguſtus XIII. & L. Paulus, ſed Suetonij ſupputationes hunc annum non admittunt 4
	3	755	COSS.	L. Aelius Lamia M. Seruilius	5
	4	756	COSS.	Sex. Aelius Catulus C. Sentius Saturninus	6
196	1	757	COSS.	Cn. Cinna Magnus L. Valerius Meſſala	7
	2	758	COSS.	M. Aemylius Lepidus L. Arruntius	Id nominis antea etiam fiit anno Vrbis 732. 8
	3	759	COSS.	Q. Cæcilius Creticus A. Licinius Nerua	9
	4	760	COSS.	M. Furius Camillus Sex. Nonius Quintilianus	10
197	1	761	COSS.	Q. Sulpitius Camerinus C. Poppæus Sabinus	Meminit horũ Suetonius in Veſpaſiano, & Pli. lib. 7. cap. 48. quod ideo admonemus, ut mendum in eo loco tollatur. 11
	2	762	COSS.	P. Cornelius Dolabella C. Iunius Syllanus	12
	3	763	COSS.	M. Aemylius Lepidus T. Statilius Taurus II.	13
	4	764	COSS.	Germanicus Cæſar C. Fonteius Capito	Meminit Suetonius in Caligula. 14
198	1	765	COSS.	L. Munatius Plancus II. C. Silius	15
	2	766	COSS.	Sex. Pompeius Sex. Apuleius	Suetonius in Auguſto. 16

17 Huius Getulici meminit Cornelius Tacitus anno 2. Tiberii.[555]

27 Meminit huius Aelii Valerius lib. 1., c. 8, de miraculis 5te [= quintae] Claudie.[556]

[555] Tacitus, *Annales*, 6, 29.
[556] Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, I, 8, 11–12.

Olym piades	Anni ab urbe cõ.			Anni Christi
	3	767	COSS. Drusus Cæsar ¶ CLAVDIVS TIB. Cæsar. C. Norbanus Flaccus *Horũ Coss. meminit Suet. in Vitellio*	17
	4	768	COSS. Sisenna Statilius Taurus L. Scribonius Libo	18
199	1	769	COSS. L. Pomponius Flaccus C. Cælius Rufus	19
	2	770	COSS. Cl. Tiberius Nero Cæsar III. Germanicus Cæsar II.	20
	3	771	COSS. M. Iunius Syllanus *Mentio est horum Coss. apud Plin. lib. 2. cap. 87. aut, ut alij, 89.* L. Norbanus Balbus T. LIVII *historiographi mors, autore Eusebio.*	21
	4	772	COSS. M. Valerius Messala M. Aurelius Cotta	22

FINIS.

GLAREANVS.

FACTENVS præter unum aut alterũ annum, Liuiana est historia, cui nos potissimũ hanc parauimus Chronologiam: quod reliquũ Consulum est, à GREGORIO Haloandro diligenter collectum, subiungere placuit, ipsius ordine ac uerbis, ne in alieno opere ingenioſi uideremur: nisi quod annos ab electis regibus omisimus, qui facile ex anno qui primos præcedit COSS. sciri potest. Sunt igitur nunc in sequentibus COSS. unius anni per unũ uersum, nõ duos descripti, ut illum in toto opere suo obseruasse uidimus. Quapropter si quid in his erratum est, quod equidem nescio, fidem meam hac confessione apud lectores purgatam uolo.

GREGORIVS HALOANDER.

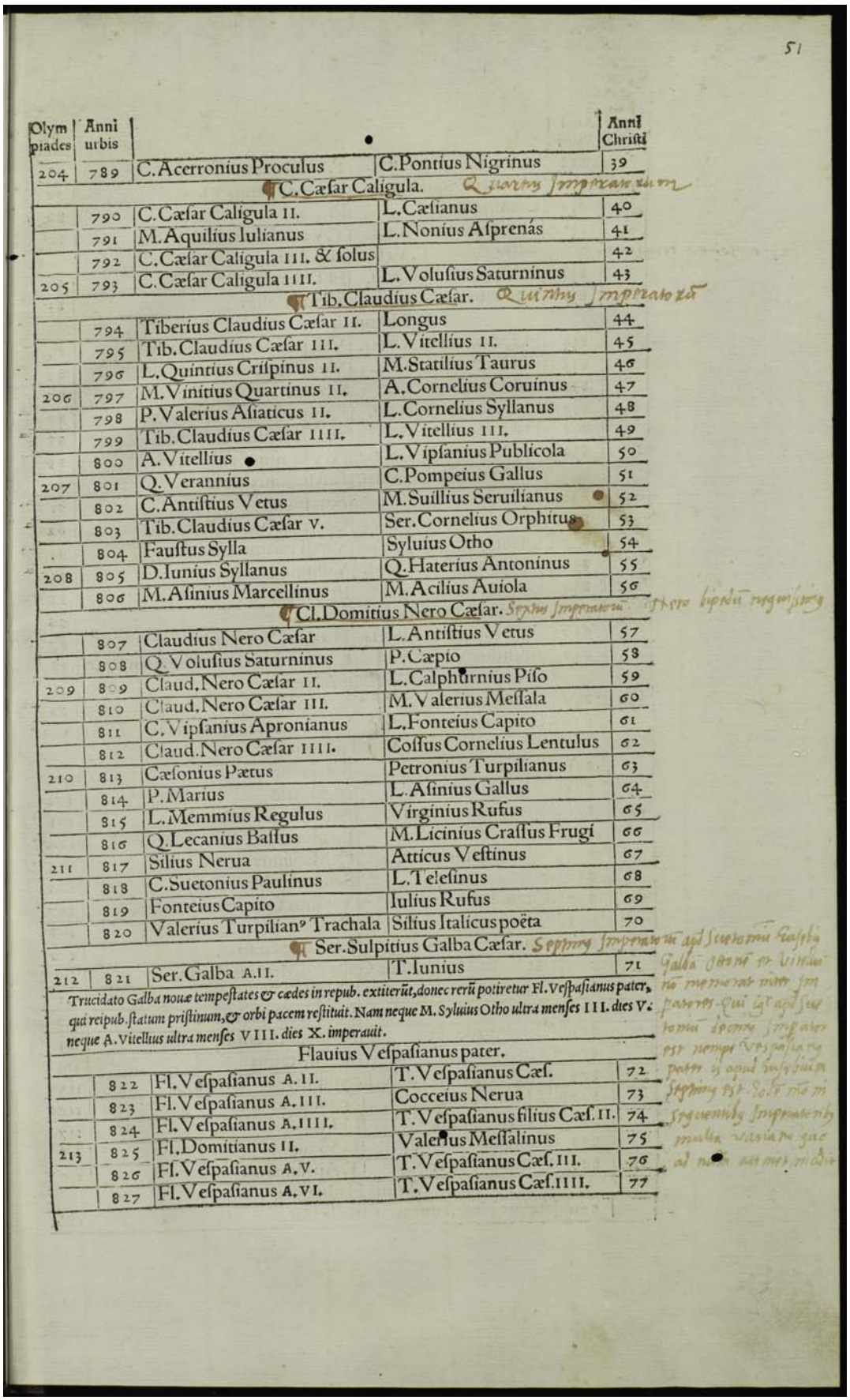
Olym piades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
200	773	Cl. Tiberius Nero Cæsar IIII.	Drusus Cæsar II.	23
	774	D. Haterius Agrippa	C. Sulpitius Galba	24
	775	C. Asinius Pollio	C. Antistius Vetus	25
	776	Sex. Cornelius Cethegus	L. Visellius Varro	26
201	777	M. Asinius Agrippa	Cossus Cornel. Lentulus	27
	778	Cn. Lentulus Getulicus	C. Caluisius Sabinus	28
	779	M. Licinius Crassus	L. Calphurnius Piso	29
	780	App. Iunius Syllanus	P. Silius Nerua	30
202	781	C. Rubellius Geminus	C. Fusius Geminus	31
		His Coss. ad VIII. cal. April. Dei filius IESVS CHRISTVS *Dominus Deus & saluator noster ac redemptor cruci affigitur, si quid Tertulliano credimus: nam alij secus opinantur.*		
	782	M. Vinitius Quartinus	C. Cassius Lõginus Iurisc̃s.	32
	783	Claudius Tiberius Cæsar V. solus, licet postmodum collegam assumpserit Aelium Seianum.		33
	784	Fur. Camill. Arrũtius Scribonian⁹	Cn. Domitius Aenobarb.	34
203	785	Ser. Sulpitius Galba	L. Cornelius Sylla	35
	786	L. Vitellius	Paulus Fabius Priscus	36
	787	P. Gallus Camerinus	Q. Nonianus	37
	788	Sex. Papinius Gallienus	Quintius Plautianus	38

3 Tertius imperatorum. Sub hoc imperatore Valerius suam historiam scripsit et Strabo geographiam suam.
12 Livii mors.

Gregor Haloander

39 Eusebius ait anno Tiberi 18 cum hic sit 15. Et sic servat etiam ecclesia.[557]
45 Hic Domitianus videtur Neronis imperatoris pater fuisse.

[557] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicle*, a. Abr. 2040.



51

Olym piades	Anni urbis			Anni Christi
204	789	C. Acerronius Proculus	C. Pontius Nigrinus	39
		¶ C. Cæsar Caligula.		
	790	C. Cæsar Caligula II.	L. Cæsianus	40
	791	M. Aquilius Iulianus	L. Nonius Asprenas	41
	792	C. Cæsar Caligula III. & solus		42
205	793	C. Cæsar Caligula IIII.	L. Volusius Saturninus	43
		¶ Tib. Claudius Cæsar.		
	794	Tiberius Claudius Cæsar II.	Longus	44
	795	Tib. Claudius Cæsar III.	L. Vitellius II.	45
	796	L. Quintius Crispinus II.	M. Statilius Taurus	46
206	797	M. Vinitius Quartinus II.	A. Cornelius Coruinus	47
	798	P. Valerius Asiaticus II.	L. Cornelius Syllanus	48
	799	Tib. Claudius Cæsar IIII.	L. Vitellius III.	49
	800	A. Vitellius	L. Vipsanius Publicola	50
207	801	Q. Verannius	C. Pompeius Gallus	51
	802	C. Antistius Vetus	M. Suillius Seruilianus	52
	803	Tib. Claudius Cæsar V.	Ser. Cornelius Orphitus	53
	804	Faustus Sylla	Syluius Otho	54
208	805	D. Iunius Syllanus	Q. Haterius Antoninus	55
	806	M. Asinius Marcellinus	M. Acilius Auiola	56
		¶ Cl. Domitius Nero Cæsar.		
	807	Claudius Nero Cæsar	L. Antistius Vetus	57
	808	Q. Volusius Saturninus	P. Cæpio	58
209	809	Claud. Nero Cæsar II.	L. Calphurnius Piso	59
	810	Claud. Nero Cæsar III.	M. Valerius Messala	60
	811	C. Vipsanius Apronianus	L. Fonteius Capito	61
	812	Claud. Nero Cæsar IIII.	Cossus Cornelius Lentulus	62
210	813	Cæsonius Pætus	Petronius Turpilianus	63
	814	P. Marius	L. Asinius Gallus	64
	815	L. Memmius Regulus	Virginius Rufus	65
	816	Q. Lecanius Bassus	M. Licinius Crassus Frugi	66
211	817	Silius Nerua	Atticus Vestinus	67
	818	C. Suetonius Paulinus	L. Telesinus	68
	819	Fonteius Capito	Iulius Rufus	69
	820	Valerius Turpilian⁹ Trachala	Silius Italicus poëta	70
		¶ Ser. Sulpitius Galba Cæsar.		
212	821	Ser. Galba A. II.	T. Iunius	71

Trucidato Galba nouæ tempestates & cædes in repub. extiterũt, donec rerũ potiretur Fl. Vespasianus pater, qui reipub. statum pristinum, & orbi pacem restituit. Nam neque M. Syluius Otho ultra menses III. dies V. neque A. Vitellius ultra menses VIII. dies X. imperauit.

Flauius Vespasianus pater.

	822	Fl. Vespasianus A. II.	T. Vespasianus Cæs.	72
	823	Fl. Vespasianus A. III.	Cocceius Nerua	73
	824	Fl. Vespasianus A. IIII.	T. Vespasianus filius Cæs. II.	74
213	825	Fl. Domitianus II.	Valerius Messalinus	75
	826	Fl. Vespasianus A. V.	T. Vespasianus Cæs. III.	76
	827	Fl. Vespasianus A. VI.	T. Vespasianus Cæs. IIII.	77

4 Quartus Imperatorum
9 Quintus Imperatorum
26 Sextus Imperatorum. Nero bipedum nequissimus
41 Septimus imperatorum apud Suetonium. Eusebius Galbam, Othonem et Vitellium[558] non memorat inter imperatores. Qui legitur apud Suetonium[559] decimus imperator est nempe Vespasianus pater, is apud Eusebium septimus est. Eodem modo in sequentibus imperatoribus multa variatio, quo ad numerum attinet, incidit.

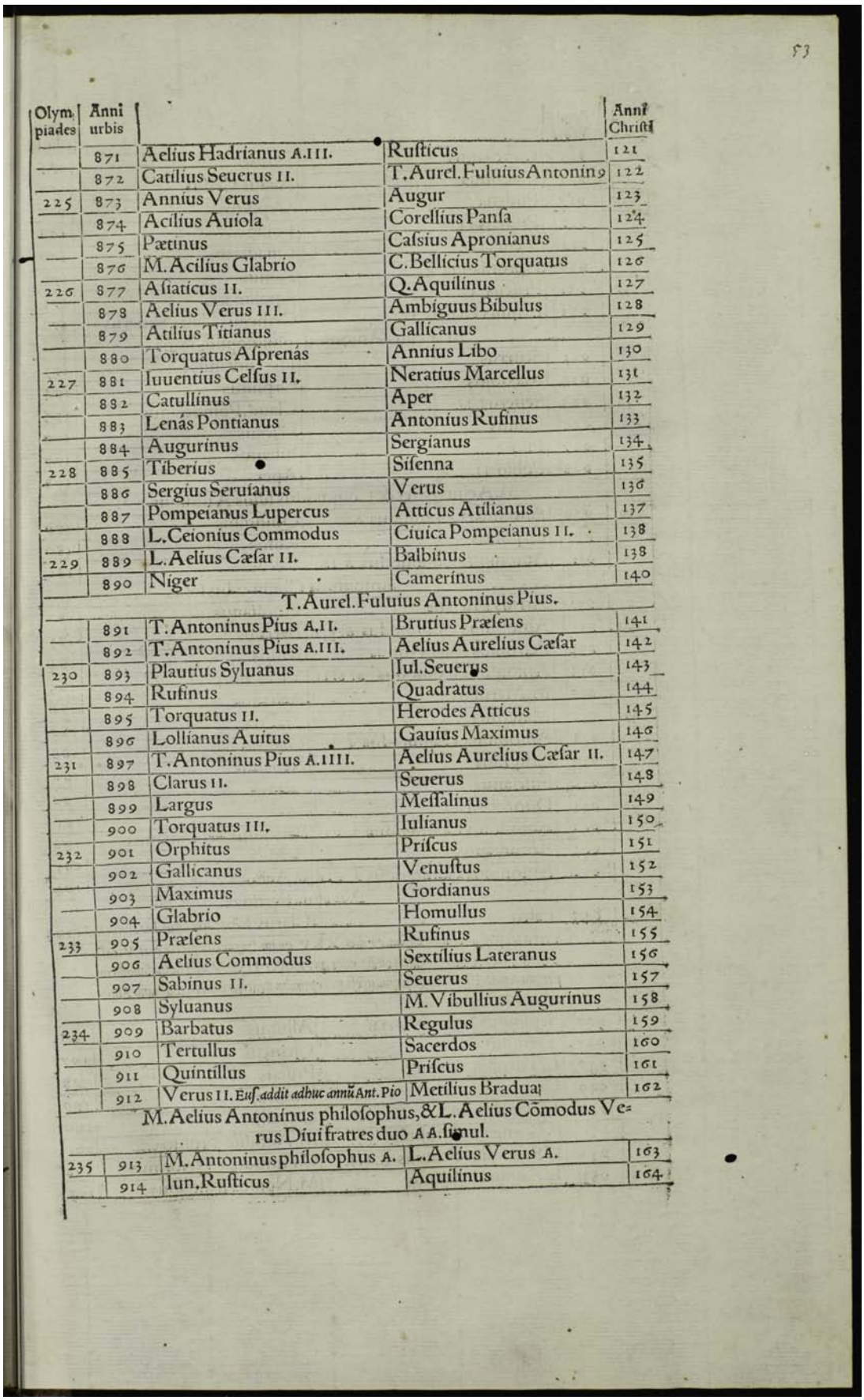
[558] Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Vespasian reigned during the so called Year of the Four Emperors, AD 69.
[559] Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, 8, 1–25.

52

Olympiades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
	828	Fl. Vespasianus A. VII.	T. Vespasianus Cæs. V.	78
214	829	Fl. Vespasianus A. VIII.	Fl. Domitianus VI.	79
	830	Commodus	Priscus	80
	831	Fl. Vespasianus A. IX.	T. Vespasianus Cæs. VI.	81
		Hic Hierosolyma expugnauit ac miserabiliter diripuit. T. Vespasianus filius.		
	832	T. Vespasianus A. VII.	Fl. Domitianus VII.	82
215	833	Syluanus	Verus Pollio	83
		Fl. Domitianus.		
	834	Fl. Domitianus A. VIII.	Valerius Messalinus II.	84
	835	Fl. Domitianus A. IX.	Virginius Rufus II.	85
	836	Fl. Domitianus A. X.	Sabinus	86
216	837	Fl. Domitianus A. XI.	Furuus	87
	838	Fl. Domitianus A. XII.	Ser. Cornelius Dolabella	88
	839	Fl. Domitianus A. XIII.	A. Volusius Saturninus	89
	840	Fl. Domitianus A. XIIII.	L. Minutius Rufus	90
217	841	Fuluius	Atratinus	91
	842	Fl. Domitianus A. XV.	Cocceius Nerua II.	92
	843	Glabrio	Vlp. Traianus Crinitus	93
	844	Fl. Domitianus A. XVI.	Volusius Saturninus II.	94
218	845	Collega	Priscinus	95
	846	Nonius Asprenas	Lateranus	96
	847	Fl. Domitianus A. XVII.	Flauius Clemens	97
	848	Antistius Vetus	L. Valerianus, alias Valens in Eutr.	98
		Cocceius Nerua.		
219	849	Cocceius Nerua A. III.	Virginius Rufus	99
	950	Cocceius Nerua A. IIII.	Vlp. Traianus Crinitus II.	100
		Vlp. Traianus.		
	851	Palma	Sosius Senecio II.	101
	852	Vlp. Traianus A. III.	M. Fronto	102
220	853	Vlp. Traianus A. IIII.	Articuleius Pætus	103
	854	Sosius Senecio III.	Licinius Sura II.	104
	855	Vlp. Traianus A. V.	Q. Maximus II.	105
	856	Suranus II.	Seruianus Marcellus II.	106
221	857	Candidus	Vuidius Quadratus II.	107
	858	Commodus	Cerealis	108
	859	Sosius Senecio IIII.	Licinius Sura III.	109
	760	App. Ann. Trebonius Gallus	Metilius Bradua	110
222	861	Palma II.	Caluisius Tullus	111
	862	Priscinus II.	Solenus Orphitus	112
	863	Calphurnius Piso	Rusticus Bolanus	113
	864	Vlp. Traianus A. VI.	Iul. Africanus	114
223	865	Iuuẽtius Celsus Fil. Iurisconsultus	Crispinus	115
	866	C. Piso Vopiscus	Seruilius Hasta	116
	867	Valerius Messala	Q. Pedo	117
	868	Aemylius Aelianus	L. Vetus	118
224	869	Quintius Niger	T. Apronianus	119
		Aelius Hadrianus.		
	870	Aelius Hadrianus A. II.	Salinator	120

Hic Hierosolymas expugnavit ac miserabiliter diripuit.[560]

[560] In the Paris copy are some more marginal notes on p. 53 and 61.



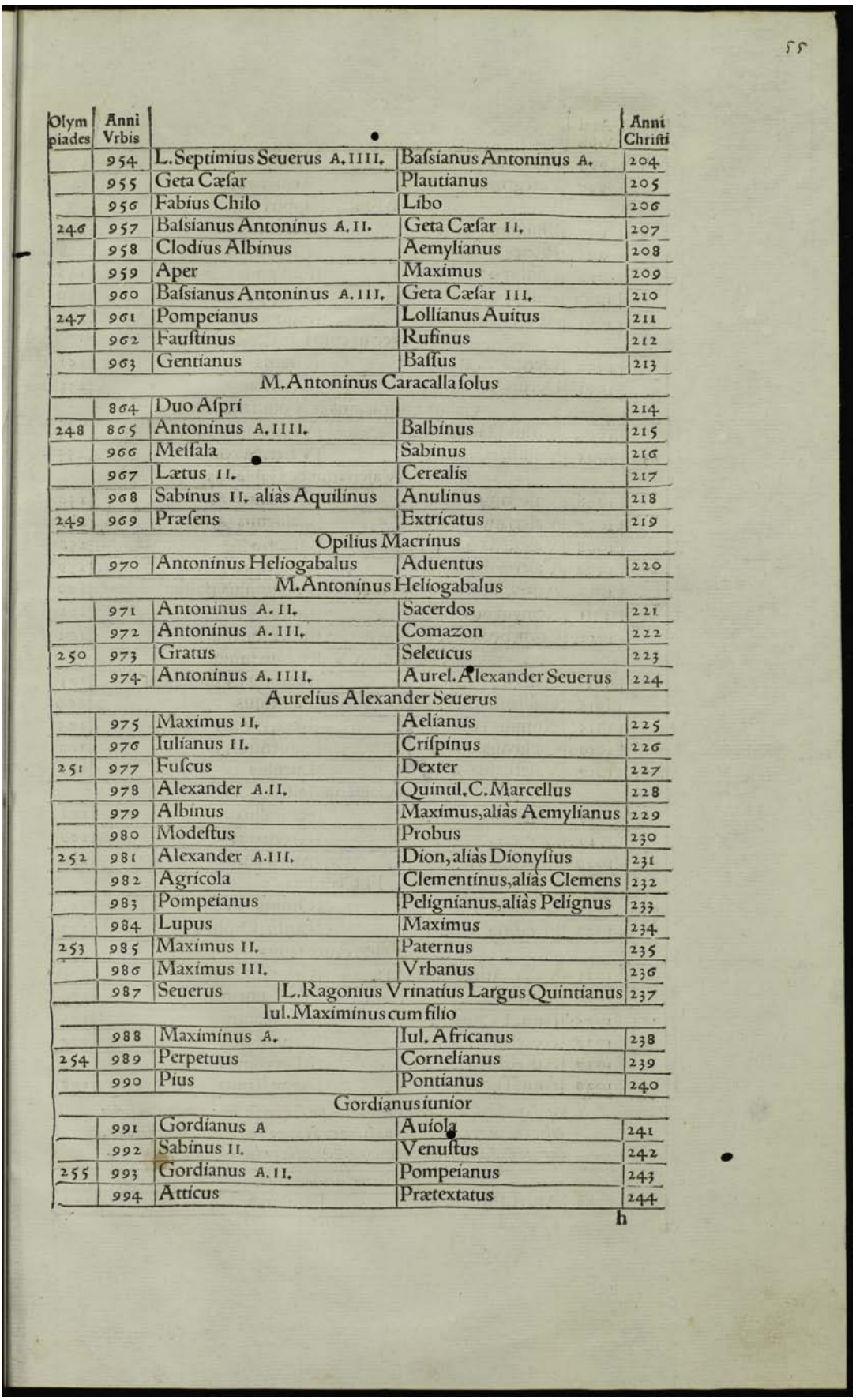
Olympiades	Anni urbis			Anni Christi
	871	Aelius Hadrianus A.III.	Rusticus	121
	872	Catilius Seuerus II.	T.Aurel.Fuluius Antonin⁹	122
225	873	Annius Verus	Augur	123
	874	Acilius Auiola	Corellius Pansa	124
	875	Pætinus	Cassius Apronianus	125
	876	M.Acilius Glabrio	C.Bellicius Torquatus	126
226	877	Asiaticus II.	Q.Aquilinus	127
	878	Aelius Verus III.	Ambiguus Bibulus	128
	879	Atilius Titianus	Gallicanus	129
	880	Torquatus Asprenas	Annius Libo	130
227	881	Iuuentius Celsus II.	Neratius Marcellus	131
	882	Catullinus	Aper	132
	883	Lenas Pontianus	Antonius Rufinus	133
	884	Augurinus	Sergianus	134
228	885	Tiberius	Sisenna	135
	886	Sergius Seruianus	Verus	136
	887	Pompeianus Lupercus	Atticus Atilianus	137
	888	L.Ceionius Commodus	Ciuica Pompeianus II.	138
229	889	L.Aelius Cæsar II.	Balbinus	138
	890	Niger	Camerinus	140
		T.Aurel.Fuluius Antoninus Pius.		
	891	T.Antoninus Pius A.II.	Brutius Præsens	141
	892	T.Antoninus Pius A.III.	Aelius Aurelius Cæsar	142
230	893	Plautius Syluanus	Iul.Seuerus	143
	894	Rufinus	Quadratus	144
	895	Torquatus II.	Herodes Atticus	145
	896	Lollianus Auitus	Gauius Maximus	146
231	897	T.Antoninus Pius A.IIII.	Aelius Aurelius Cæsar II.	147
	898	Clarus II.	Seuerus	148
	899	Largus	Messalinus	149
	900	Torquatus III.	Iulianus	150
232	901	Orphitus	Priscus	151
	902	Gallicanus	Venustus	152
	903	Maximus	Gordianus	153
	904	Glabrio	Homullus	154
233	905	Præsens	Rufinus	155
	906	Aelius Commodus	Sextilius Lateranus	156
	907	Sabinus II.	Seuerus	157
	908	Syluanus	M.Vibullius Augurinus	158
234	909	Barbatus	Regulus	159
	910	Tertullus	Sacerdos	160
	911	Quintillus	Priscus	161
	912	Verus II. *Euſ. addit adhuc annũ Ant. Pio*	Metilius Bradua	162
		M.Aelius Antoninus philosophus, & L.Aelius Cõmodus Verus Diui fratres duo A A. simul.		
235	913	M.Antoninus philosophus A.	L.Aelius Verus A.	163
	914	Iun.Rusticus	Aquilinus	164

54

Olympiades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
	915	L. Aelianus	Pastor	165
	916	Macrinus	Aelius Celsus	166
236	917	Pudens	Orphitus	167
	918	Pudens II.	Pollio	168
	919	Verus III.	Quadratus	169
	920	Apronianus	Paulus	170
237	921	Priscus	Apollinaris	171
	922	Erutius Clarus II.	Cethegus alias Seuerus	172
		M. Aelius Antoninus philosophus solus.		
	923	Seuerus	Herennianus	173
	924	Maximus	Orphitus	174
238	925	Seuerus II.	Claud. Pompeianus	175
	926	Gallus	Flaccus	176
	927	Piso	Iulianus	177
	928	Pollio II.	Aper	178
		M. Aelius pater & Commodus filius Antonini AA.		
239	929	Antonius Commodus A.	Quintillus	179
	930	Orphitus	Rufus	180
	931	Antoninus Commodus A. II.	Verus	181
		Antoninus Commodus solus		
	932	Arrius Præsens	Gordianus	182
240	933	Antoninus Commodus A. III.	Byrrhus	183
	934	Petronius Mamertinus	Rufus	184
	935	Antoninus Cõmodus A. IIII.	Victorinus	185
	936	M. Marullus	Aelianus	186
241	937	Maternus	Bradua	187
	938	Antoninus Commodus A. V.	Glabrio	188
	939	Crispinus	Aelianus	189
	940	Fuscianus	Silanus	190
242	941	Duo Silani		191
	942	Antoninus Commodus A. VI.	Petronius Septimianus	192
	943	Apronianus	Bradua	193
	944	Antoninus Commodus A. VII.	P. Aelius Pertinax	194
		P. Aelius Pertinax		
243	945	Falco	Clarus. Nõ est apud Eus. hic annus tot?	195

Pertinace post alterum mensem, & dies XXV. quàm Imperator factus erat, V. cal. Aprilis occiso, Didius Iulianus cædis autor, per menses II. & V. dies tantummodo imperium tenuit. Hunc deinde secutus est L. Septimius Seuerus cum M. Bassiano Antonino Caracalla filio.

	946	Septimius Seuerus A. II.	Albinus	196
	947	Tertullus	Clemens	197
	948	L. Turpilius Dexter	Priscus	398
244	949	Lateranus	Rufinus	199
	950	Ti. Saturninus	C. Gallus	200
	951	P. Cornelius Anulinus	M. Aufidius Fronto	201
	952	L. Septimius Seuerus A. III.	C. Aufudius Victorinus	202
245	953	L. Annius Fabianus	M. Nonius Mutianus	203

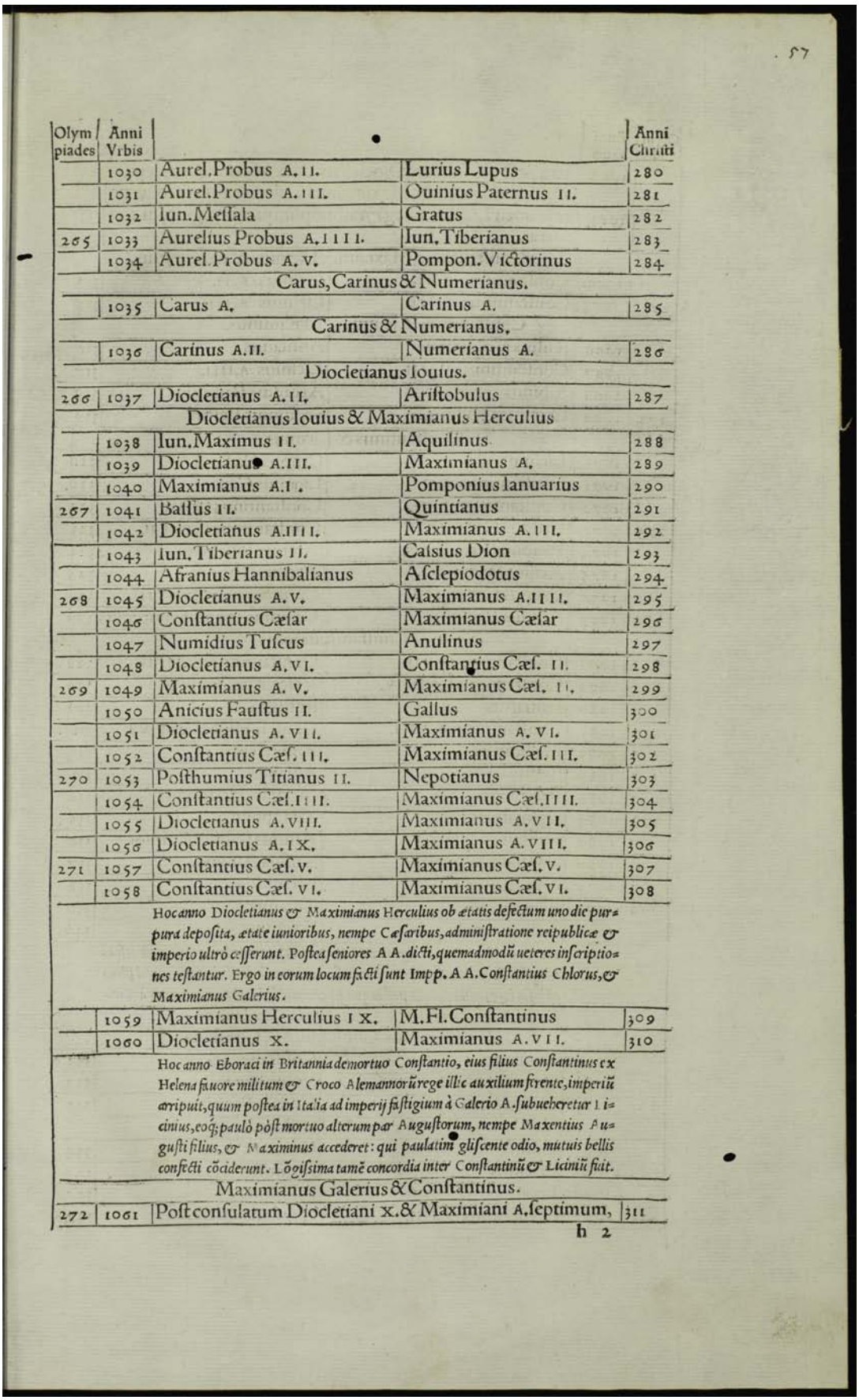


55

Olym piades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
	954	L. Septimius Seuerus A. IIII.	Bassianus Antoninus A.	204
	955	Geta Cæsar	Plautianus	205
	956	Fabius Chilo	Libo	206
246	957	Bassianus Antoninus A. II.	Geta Cæsar II.	207
	958	Clodius Albinus	Aemylianus	208
	959	Aper	Maximus	209
	960	Bassianus Antoninus A. III.	Geta Cæsar III.	210
247	961	Pompeianus	Lollianus Auitus	211
	962	Faustinus	Rufinus	212
	963	Gentianus	Bassus	213
		M. Antoninus Caracalla solus		
	864	Duo Aspri		214
248	865	Antoninus A. IIII.	Balbinus	215
	966	Messala	Sabinus	216
	967	Lætus II.	Cerealis	217
	968	Sabinus II. alias Aquilinus	Anulinus	218
249	969	Præsens	Extricatus	219
		Opilius Macrinus		
	970	Antoninus Heliogabalus	Aduentus	220
		M. Antoninus Heliogabalus		
	971	Antoninus A. II.	Sacerdos	221
	972	Antoninus A. III.	Comazon	222
250	973	Gratus	Seleucus	223
	974	Antoninus A. IIII.	Aurel. Alexander Seuerus	224
		Aurelius Alexander Seuerus		
	975	Maximus II.	Aelianus	225
	976	Iulianus II.	Crispinus	226
251	977	Fuscus	Dexter	227
	978	Alexander A. II.	Quintil. C. Marcellus	228
	979	Albinus	Maximus, alias Aemylianus	229
	980	Modestus	Probus	230
252	981	Alexander A. III.	Dion, alias Dionysius	231
	982	Agricola	Clementinus, alias Clemens	232
	983	Pompeianus	Pelignianus, alias Pelignus	233
	984	Lupus	Maximus	234
253	985	Maximus II.	Paternus	235
	986	Maximus III.	Vrbanus	236
	987	Seuerus	L. Ragonius Vrinatius Largus Quintianus	237
		Iul. Maximinus cum filio		
	988	Maximinus A.	Iul. Africanus	238
254	989	Perpetuus	Cornelianus	239
	990	Pius	Pontianus	240
		Gordianus iunior		
	991	Gordianus A	Auiola	241
	992	Sabinus II.	Venustus	242
255	993	Gordianus A. II.	Pompeianus	243
	994	Atticus	Prætextatus	244

h

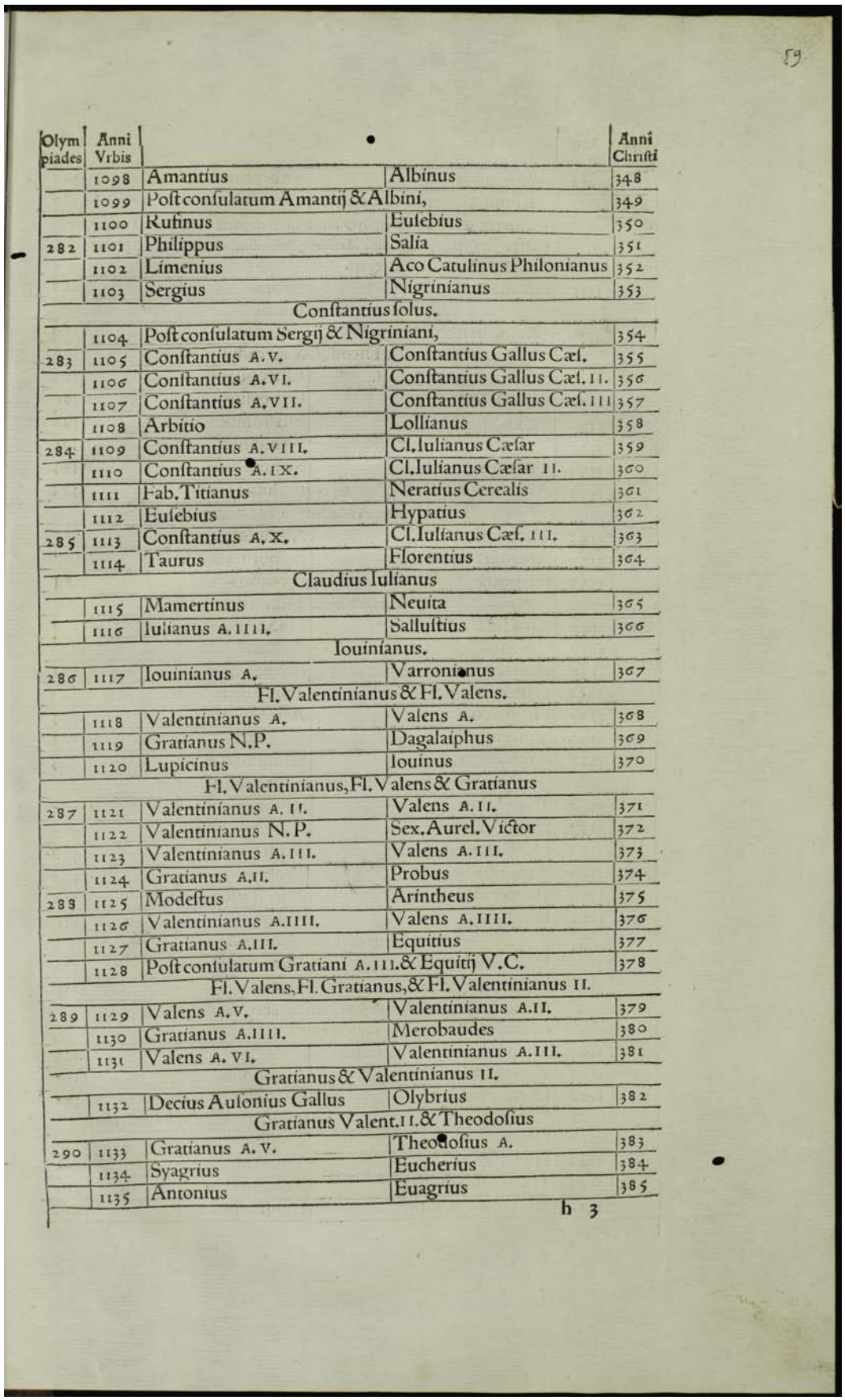
Olympiades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
	995	Arrianus	Papus	245
	996	Peregrinus	Aemylianus	246
		M.Iul.Philippus		
256	997	Philippus A.	Didianus	247
	998	Præiens	Albinus	248
	999	Philippus A.II.	Philippus Cæsar	249
	1000	Philippus A.III.	Philippus Cæsar II.	250
257	1001	Aemylianus	Aquilinus	251
		Decius cum filio Cæsare.		
	1002	Decius A.II.	Gratus	252
	1003	Decius A.III.	D.Cæsar	253
		Gallus Hostilianus & Volusianus fil.		
	1004	Virius Gallus A.II.	Volusianus A.	254
258	1005	Volusianus A.II.	Valer.Maximus	255
		Licinius, Valerianus & Gallienus		
	1006	Valerianus A.II.	Gallienus A.	256
	1007	Valerianus A.III.	Gallienus A.II.	257
	1008	Valer.Maximus II.	Glabrio	258
259	1009	Valerianus A.IIII.	Gallienus A.III.	259
	1010	Aurel. Tuscus, alias Fuscus	Pomponius Bassus	260
	1011	Aemylianus	Bassus	261
	1012	Corn.Secularis II.	Iun.Donatus	262
		Gallienus & Valerianus iunior		
260	1013	Gallienus A.IIII.	Patronus Volusianus	263
	1014	Gallienus A.V.	Faustinus	264
	1015	Numius Albinus	Max.Dexter	265
	1016	Gallienus A.VI.	Saturninus	266
261	1017	Valerianus A. II.	Lucillus	267
		Gallienus solus		
	1018	Gallienus A. VII.	Sabinillus	268
	1019	Paternus	Archelaus	269
	1020	Paternus II.	Marinianus	270
		Fl.Claudius		
262	1021	Claudius A.	Quinius Paternus	271
	1022	Fl.Antiochianus	Lurius Orphitus	272
		Valer. Aurelianus		
	1023	Valer.Aurelianus A.II.	Ceionius Bassus	273
	1024	Quietus	Voldumianus	274
263	1025	Ann.Tacitus	Placidianus	275
	1026	Aurelianus A.III.	Capitolinus	276
	1027	Aurelianus A.IIII.	Marcellinus	277
	1028	Ann.Tacitus II.	Aemylianus	278
		Occiso per serui sui fraudem Aureliano A. per sex menses Imperator ex Cos. factus Ann. Tacitus & ipse perit. Quod idem & Floriano Taciti fratri, per menses duos, dies q; uiginti, arrepto imperio contigit. Post hos imperium adeptus est		
		Aurelius Probus		
264	1029	Aurel.Probus A.	Paulinus	279.



Olympiades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
	1030	Aurel. Probus A. II.	Lurius Lupus	280
	1031	Aurel. Probus A. III.	Quinius Paternus II.	281
	1032	Iun. Messala	Gratus	282
265	1033	Aurelius Probus A. IIII.	Iun. Tiberianus	283
	1034	Aurel. Probus A. V.	Pompon. Victorinus	284
		Carus, Carinus & Numerianus.		
	1035	Carus A.	Carinus A.	285
		Carinus & Numerianus.		
	1036	Carinus A. II.	Numerianus A.	286
		Diocletianus Iouius.		
266	1037	Diocletianus A. II.	Aristobulus	287
		Diocletianus Iouius & Maximianus Herculius		
	1038	Iun. Maximus II.	Aquilinus	288
	1039	Diocletianus A. III.	Maximianus A.	289
	1040	Maximianus A. I.	Pomponius Ianuarius	290
267	1041	Bassus II.	Quintianus	291
	1042	Diocletianus A. IIII.	Maximianus A. III.	292
	1043	Iun. Tiberianus II.	Caesius Dion	293
	1044	Afranius Hannibalianus	Asclepiodotus	294
268	1045	Diocletianus A. V.	Maximianus A. IIII.	295
	1046	Constantius Cæsar	Maximianus Cæsar	296
	1047	Numidius Tuscus	Anulinus	297
	1048	Diocletianus A. VI.	Constantius Cæs. II.	298
269	1049	Maximianus A. V.	Maximianus Cæs. II.	299
	1050	Anicius Faustus II.	Gallus	300
	1051	Diocletianus A. VII.	Maximianus A. VI.	301
	1052	Constantius Cæs. III.	Maximianus Cæs. III.	302
270	1053	Posthumius Titianus II.	Nepotianus	303
	1054	Constantius Cæs. IIII.	Maximianus Cæs. IIII.	304
	1055	Diocletianus A. VIII.	Maximianus A. VII.	305
	1056	Diocletianus A. IX.	Maximianus A. VIII.	306
271	1057	Constantius Cæs. V.	Maximianus Cæs. V.	307
	1058	Constantius Cæs. VI.	Maximianus Cæs. VI.	308
		Hoc anno Diocletianus & Maximianus Herculius ob ætatis defectum uno die purpura depositâ, ætate iunioribus, nempe Cæsaribus, administratione reipublicæ & imperio ultrò cesserunt. Postea seniores A A. dicti, quemadmodũ ueteres inscriptiones testantur. Ergo in eorum locum facti sunt Impp. A A. *Constantius Chlorus, & Maximianus Galerius.*		
	1059	Maximianus Herculius IX.	M. Fl. Constantinus	309
	1060	Diocletianus X.	Maximianus A. VII.	310
		Hoc anno Eboraci in Britannia demortuo Constantio, eius filius Constantinus ex Helena fauore militum & Croco Alemannorũ rege illic auxilium ferente, imperiũ arripuit, quum postea in Italia ad imperij fastigium à Galerio A. subueheretur Licinius, eoq; paulò pòst mortuo alterum par Augustorum, nempe Maxentius Augusti filius, & Maximinus accederet: qui paulatim glisc̃ente odio, mutuis bellis confecti cõciderunt. Lõgissima tamẽ concordia inter Constantinũ & Liciniũ fuit.		
		Maximianus Galerius & Constantinus.		
272	1061	Post consulatum Diocletiani X. & Maximiani A. septimum,		311

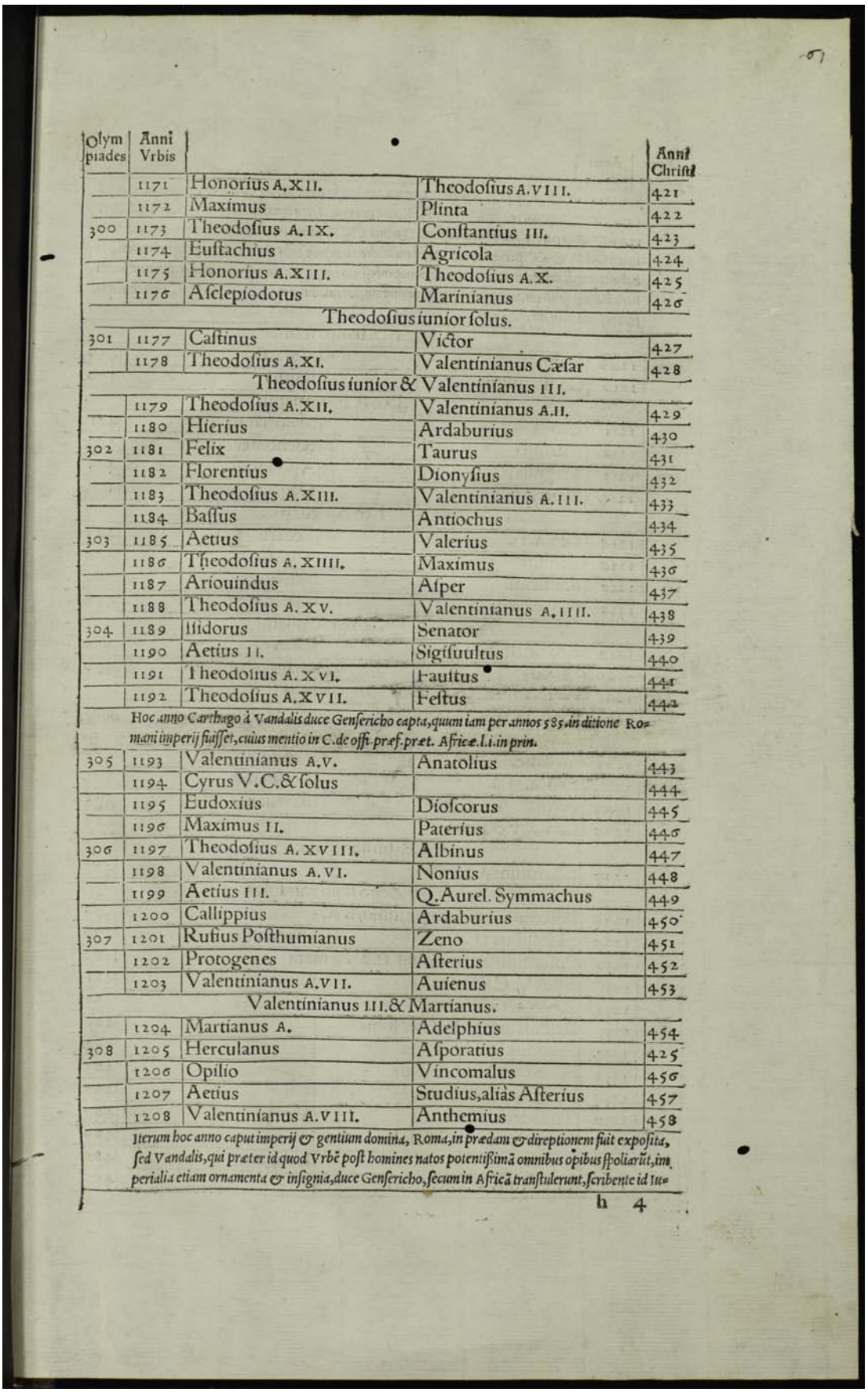
58

Olym piades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
	1062	item post consulatum Diocletiani X. & Maximiani A. septimum, anno secundo, Maximianus Galer. A. VIII. & solus: po		312
	1063	stea tamen Liciniu collegam assumpsit, quem Augustum creauerat.		313
		Constantinus, Maxentius, Licinius & Maximinus.		
	1064	Constantinus A. II.	Licinius A. II.	314
273	1065	Constantinus A. III.	Licinius A. III.	315
		Constantinus, Licinius & Maximinus.		
	1066	Rufius Volusianus	Annianus	316
	1067	Constantinus A. IIII.	Licinius A. IIII.	317
	1068	Sabinus	Arcadius Rufinus	318
274	1069	Ouinius Gallicanus	Septimius Bassus	319
		Constantinus & Licinius.		
	1070	Licinius A. V.	Crispus Cæsar	320
	1071	Constantinus A. V.	Licinius Cæsar	321
	1072	Constantinus A. VI.	Constantinus Cæsar	322
275	1073	Crispus Cæsar II.	Constantinus Cæsar II.	323
	1074	Panonus Probianus	Anitius Iulianus	324
	1075	Acilius Seuerus	Anitius Rufinus	325
	1076	Crispus Cæsar III.	Constantinus Cæsar III.	326
276	1077	Anitius Paulinus	Ceionius Iulian. Camœnius	327
		Constantinus solus.		
	1078	Constantinus A. VII.	Constantinus Cæsar IIII.	328
	1079	Constantinus Cæsar V.	Valer. Max. Basilius	329
	1080	Ianuarius	Iustus	330
277	1081	Constantinus A. VIII.	Constantinus Cæsar VI.	331
	1082	Gallicanus	Symmachus	332
	1083	Bassus	Ablabius	333
	1085	Pacatianus	Mecilius Hilarianus	334
278	1084	Dalmatius Cæsar	Xenophilus	335
	1086	Publilius Optatus	Anitius Paulinus iunior	336
	1087	Constantius Cæsar	Rufius Albinus	337
	1088	Nepotianus	Facundus	338
279	1089	Felicianus	Titianus	339
	1090	Vrsus	Polemius	340
		His Coss. Constantinus cognomento Magnus in fata concessit, prius in filios fratrisq; filium Dalmatium concordiæ conseruandæ causa diuiso imperio, quod pleno ad ipsos iure pertinebat, & postea quoq; peruenit, sed Dalmatio protinus à Constantini A. morte à militibus in Thracia trucidato, simul regnant.		
		Constantinus, Constantius & Constans.		
	1091	Constantius A. II.	Constans A.	341
	1092	Sept. Acindinus	Valer. Proculus	342
280	1093	Marcellinus	Cœlius Probinus	343
		Constantius & Constans.		
	1094	Constantius A. III.	Constans A. II.	344
	1095	Placidus	Romulus	345
	1096	Leontius	Sallustius	346
281	1097	Constantius A. IIII.	Constans A. III.	347



Olympiades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
	1098	Amantius	Albinus	348
	1099	Post consulatum Amantij & Albini,		349
	1100	Rufinus	Eusebius	350
282	1101	Philippus	Salia	351
	1102	Limenius	Aco Catulinus Philonianus	352
	1103	Sergius	Nigrinianus	353
		Constantius solus.		
	1104	Post consulatum Sergij & Nigriniani,		354
283	1105	Constantius A.V.	Constantius Gallus Cæs.	355
	1106	Constantius A.VI.	Constantius Gallus Cæs. II.	356
	1107	Constantius A.VII.	Constantius Gallus Cæs. III	357
	1108	Arbitio	Lollianus	358
284	1109	Constantius A.VIII.	Cl.Iulianus Cæsar	359
	1110	Constantius A.IX.	Cl.Iulianus Cæsar II.	360
	1111	Fab.Titianus	Neratius Cerealis	361
	1112	Eusebius	Hypatius	362
285	1113	Constantius A.X.	Cl.Iulianus Cæs. III.	363
	1114	Taurus	Florentius	364
		Claudius Iulianus		
	1115	Mamertinus	Neuita	365
	1116	Iulianus A.IIII.	Sallustius	366
		Iouinianus.		
286	1117	Iouinianus A.	Varronianus	367
		Fl.Valentinianus & Fl.Valens.		
	1118	Valentinianus A.	Valens A.	368
	1119	Gratianus N.P.	Dagalaiphus	369
	1120	Lupicinus	Iouinus	370
		Fl.Valentinianus, Fl.Valens & Gratianus		
287	1121	Valentinianus A.II.	Valens A.II.	371
	1122	Valentinianus N.P.	Sex.Aurel.Victor	372
	1123	Valentinianus A.III.	Valens A.III.	373
	1124	Gratianus A.II.	Probus	374
288	1125	Modestus	Arintheus	375
	1126	Valentinianus A.IIII.	Valens A.IIII.	376
	1127	Gratianus A.III.	Equitius	377
	1128	Post consulatum Gratiani A.III. & Equitij V.C.		378
		Fl.Valens, Fl.Gratianus, & Fl.Valentinianus II.		
289	1129	Valens A.V.	Valentinianus A.II.	379
	1130	Gratianus A.IIII.	Merobaudes	380
	1131	Valens A.VI.	Valentinianus A.III.	381
		Gratianus & Valentinianus II.		
	1132	Decius Ausonius Gallus	Olybrius	382
		Gratianus Valent.II. & Theodosius		
290	1133	Gratianus A.V.	Theodosius A.	383
	1134	Syagrius	Eucherius	384
	1135	Antonius	Euagrius	385

Olympiades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
	1136	Merobaudes II.	Saturninus	386
291	1137	Richomer, alias Nicomedes	Clearchus	387
		Hoc anno apud Lugdunum capto & occiso Gratiano, item Valentiniano in trien-nium per fœderis simulationem à Maximo tyranno ditione Italiæ cæterisq; prouin-cijs eiecto, Theodosius solus regnat.		
	1138	Arcadius	Bauto	388
		Theodosius & Arcadius		
	1139	Honorius nob. P.	Euodius	389
		Valentin. II. Theodos. & Arcadius.		
	1140	Valentinianus A. IIII.	Eutropius	390
292	1141	Theodosius A. II.	Cynegius	391
	1142	Fl. Timasius	Fl. Promotus	392
	1143	Valentinianus A. V.	Neoterius	393
	1144	Tatianus	Symmachus	394
293	1145	Arcadius A. II.	Rufinus	395
		Theodosius, Arcadius & Honorius.		
	1146	Theodosius A. III.	Abundantius	396
	1147	Arcadius A. III.	Honorius A. II.	397
	1148	Olybrius	Probinus	398
		Arcadius & Honorius.		
294	1149	Arcadius A. IIII.	Honorius A. III.	399
	1150	Cæsarius	Atticus	400
	1151	Honorius A. IIII.	Eutychianus	401
	1152	Eutropius	Theodorus	402
295	1153	Fl. Stilico	Aurelianus	403
	1154	Vincentius	Fraujta, alias Fabritius	404
	1155	Arcadius A. V.	Honorius A. V.	405
		Arcadius, Honorius, & Theodosius iunior.		
	1156	Theodosius A.	Rumoridius	406
296	1157	Honorius A. VI.	Aristænetus	407
	1158	Fl. Stilico II.	Anthemius	408
	1159	Arcadius A. VI.	Probus	409
	1160	Honorius A. VII.	Theodosius A. II.	410
297	1161	Basilus	Philippus	411
		Honorius & Theodosius iunior.		
	1162	Honorius A. VIII.	Theodosius A. III.	412
	1163	Fl. Varro	Tertullus	413
		Hoc anno prima Romæ direptio facta à Gotthis, duce Alaricho, qui tamen præda contentus, uictoria nimis insolenter usus non est.		
	1164	Theodosius A. IIII. & solus		414
298	1165	Honorius A. IX.	Theodosius A. V.	415
	1166	Lucius V. C.	Herodianus *Sed huius deinde me-moria ob crimen perduellionis damnata fuit.*	416
	1167	Constans	Constantius	417
	1168	Honorius A. X.	Theodosius A. VI.	418
299	1169	Theodosius A. VII.	Palladius	419
	1170	Honorius A. XI.	Constantius II.	420

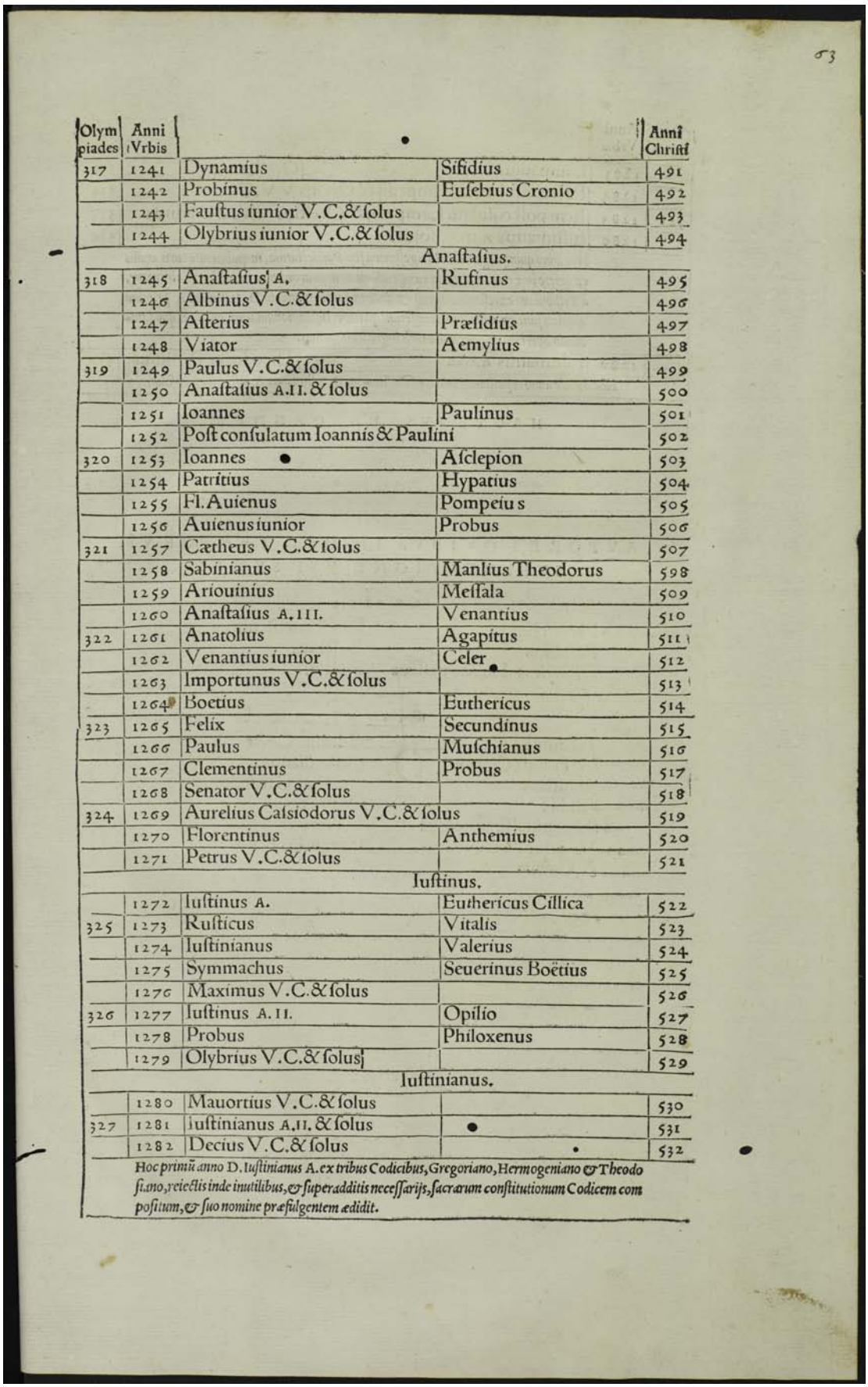


Olym piades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
	1171	Honorius A.XII.	Theodosius A.VIII.	421
	1172	Maximus	Plinta	422
300	1173	Theodosius A.IX.	Constantius III.	423
	1174	Eustachius	Agricola	424
	1175	Honorius A.XIII.	Theodosius A.X.	425
	1176	Asclepiodotus	Marinianus	426
		Theodosius iunior solus.		
301	1177	Castinus	Victor	427
	1178	Theodosius A.XI.	Valentinianus Cæsar	428
		Theodosius iunior & Valentinianus III.		
	1179	Theodosius A.XII.	Valentinianus A.II.	429
	1180	Hierius	Ardaburius	430
302	1181	Felix	Taurus	431
	1182	Florentius	Dionysius	432
	1183	Theodosius A.XIII.	Valentinianus A.III.	433
	1184	Bassus	Antiochus	434
303	1185	Aetius	Valerius	435
	1186	Theodosius A.XIIII.	Maximus	436
	1187	Ariouindus	Asper	437
	1188	Theodosius A.XV.	Valentinianus A.IIII.	438
304	1189	Hisdorus	Senator	439
	1190	Aetius II.	Sigisuultus	440
	1191	Theodosius A.XVI.	Faustus	441
	1192	Theodosius A.XVII.	Festus	442
		Hoc anno Carthago à Vandalis duce Genserico capta, quum iam per annos 585. in ditione Romani imperij fuisset, cuius mentio in C. de offi. præf. præt. Africæ. l. i. in prin.		
305	1193	Valentinianus A.V.	Anatolius	443
	1194	Cyrus V.C. & solus		444
	1195	Eudoxius	Dioscorus	445
	1196	Maximus II.	Paterius	446
306	1197	Theodosius A.XVIII.	Albinus	447
	1198	Valentinianus A.VI.	Nonius	448
	1199	Aetius III.	Q. Aurel. Symmachus	449
	1200	Callippius	Ardaburius	450
307	1201	Rufius Posthumianus	Zeno	451
	1202	Protogenes	Asterius	452
	1203	Valentinianus A.VII.	Auienus	453
		Valentinianus III. & Martianus.		
	1204	Martianus A.	Adelphius	454
308	1205	Herculanus	Asporatius	425
	1206	Opilio	Vincomalus	456
	1207	Aetius	Studius, aliàs Asterius	457
	1208	Valentinianus A.VIII.	Anthemius	458
		Iterum hoc anno caput imperij & gentium domina, Roma, in prædam & direptionem fuit exposita, sed Vandalis, qui præter id quod Vrbē post homines natos potentissimā omnibus opibus spoliarūt, imperialia etiam ornamenta & insignia, duce Genserico, secum in Africā transtulerunt, scribente id Iu-		

Olym piades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi

stiniano. C. de offi. præf. præt. Africæ. Vt uerum tandem sit quod M. Varro lib. 18. antiquitatum, apud Censorinum scriptum reliquit, Vectium se Romæ in augurio non ignobilem, & ingenio cuiuis doctori in disceptando parem, audiuisse dicentem: Quoniã CXX. annos incolumis præterijsset populus Romanus, ad M. & CC. peruenturum. Quid enim ab eo tempore urbs Roma uel imperij uel maiestatis habuit? quæ, si uetera memoria repetimus, improbissimo cuique maxime semper patuit: tot incursiones barbararum gentium, tot oppressiones tyrannorum, tot calamitates perpessa, donec ad extremũ misera in summis malis consenuit.

		Martianus solus.		
309	1209	Ioannes	Varari	459
	1210	Constantinus	Rufus	460
		Leo & Maiorianus.		
	1211	Leo A.	Maiorianus A.	461
	1212	Patritius	Richomer	462
310	1213	Magnus	Apollonius	463
	1214	Seuerinus	Dagalaiphus	464
		Leo & Seuerus.		
	1215	Leo A. II.	Seuerus A.	465
	1216	Basilius	Viuianus	466
311	1217	Rusticius	Olybrius	467
	1218	Fl. Basilicus	Herminerichus	468
		Leo & Anthemius.		
	1219	Leo A. III. & solus		469
	1220	Buseus	Ioannes	470
312	1221	Anthemius A. II. & solus		471
	1222	Martianus	Zeno Isauricus	472
		Leo solus.		
	1223	Iordanes	Seuerus	473
	1224	Leo A. IIII.	Probianus	474
313	1225	Festus	Martianus	475
	1226	Leo A. V. & solus		476
		Leo iunior & Zeno Isauricus.		
	1227	Leo iunior A. & solus		477
		Zeno Isauricus solus.		
	1228	Post consulatũ Leonis iunioris A.		478
314	1229	Fl. Basilius II.	Armatius	479
	1230	Post consulatum Basilij II. & Armatij		480
	1231	Ellus V. C. & solus		481
	1232	Zeno A. II. & solus		482
315	1233	Basilius iunior V. C. & solus		483
	1234	Placidus V. C. & solus		484
	1235	Seuerinus V. C. & solus		485
	1236	Faustus V. C. & solus		486
316	1237	Theodericus rex	Venantius	487
	1238	Symmachus V. C. & solus		488
	1239	Decius	Longinus	489
	1240	Fl. Boëtius V. C. & solus		490



Olympiades	Anni Vrbis			Annî Christi
317	1241	Dynamius	Sifidius	491
	1242	Probinus	Euſebius Cronio	492
	1243	Fauſtus iunior V.C.& ſolus		493
	1244	Olybrius iunior V.C.& ſolus		494
		Anaſtaſius.		
318	1245	Anaſtaſius A.	Rufinus	495
	1246	Albinus V.C.& ſolus		496
	1247	Aſterius	Præſidius	497
	1248	Viator	Aemylius	498
319	1249	Paulus V.C.& ſolus		499
	1250	Anaſtaſius A.II. & ſolus		500
	1251	Ioannes	Paulinus	501
	1252	Poſt conſulatum Ioannis & Paulini		502
320	1253	Ioannes	Aſclepion	503
	1254	Patritius	Hypatius	504
	1255	Fl. Auienus	Pompeius	505
	1256	Auienus iunior	Probus	506
321	1257	Cætheus V.C.& ſolus		507
	1258	Sabinianus	Manlius Theodorus	508
	1259	Ariouinius	Meſſala	509
	1260	Anaſtaſius A.III.	Venantius	510
322	1261	Anatolius	Agapitus	511
	1262	Venantius iunior	Celer	512
	1263	Importunus V.C.& ſolus		513
	1264	Boetius	Euthericus	514
323	1265	Felix	Secundinus	515
	1266	Paulus	Muſchianus	516
	1267	Clementinus	Probus	517
	1268	Senator V.C.& ſolus		518
324	1269	Aurelius Caſsiodorus V.C.& ſolus		519
	1270	Florentinus	Anthemius	520
	1271	Petrus V.C.& ſolus		521
		Iuſtinus.		
	1272	Iuſtinus A.	Euthericus Cillica	522
325	1273	Ruſticus	Vitalis	523
	1274	Iuſtinianus	Valerius	524
	1275	Symmachus	Seuerinus Boëtius	525
	1276	Maximus V.C.& ſolus		526
326	1277	Iuſtinus A.II.	Opilio	527
	1278	Probus	Philoxenus	528
	1279	Olybrius V.C.& ſolus		529
		Iuſtinianus.		
	1280	Mauortius V.C.& ſolus		530
327	1281	Iuſtinianus A.II. & ſolus		531
	1282	Decius V.C.& ſolus		532

Hoc primũ anno D. Iuſtinianus A. ex tribus Codicibus, Gregoriano, Hermogeniano & Theodoſiano, vetuſtis inde inutilibus, & ſuperadditis neceſſarijs, ſacrarum conſtitutionum Codicem compoſitum, & ſuo nomine præfulgentem edidit.

54

Olympiades	Anni Vrbis			Anni Christi
	1283	Lampadius	Oreſtes	533
	1284	Poſt conſulatum Lampadij & Oreſtis VV.CC.		534
328	1285	Item poſt cõſulatũ Lampadij & Oreſtius VV.CC.anno 2.		535
	1286	Iuſtinianus A.III.& ſolus.		536
		Hoc anno quinquaginta libri Digeſtorum ſeu Pandectarum, in quibus tota Iuris ciuilis ex uetere iure enucleati, & in compendium ac nouum ordinem redacti ratio cõtinetur, à Triboniano excellentis ingenij & doctrinæ uiro, mandato D. Iuſtiniani A. primùm abſoluti ſunt & æditi. His acceſſerunt quatuor Inſtitutionum libri, qui fores quodammodo aperiunt ad penetralia Iuris ingredi uolentibus.		
	1287	Iuſtinianus A.IIII.	Theodorus Paulinus	537
		Hoc deinde anno repetitam Codicis prælectionem D.Iuſtinianus A.inſtituit & abſoluit.		

HACTENVS HALOANDER.

AVTORES QVIBVS IN HAC TEMPORVM SVPPVTATIONE VSI SVMVS.

GRAECI

Plutarchus
Polybius
Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus
Diodorus Siculus
Euſebius
Strabo.

LATINI

T.Liuius
M.Tullius Cicero
Salluſtius
Plinius
Suetonius Tranquillus
Valerius Maximus
A.Gellius
C.Iulius Cæſar
Quintilianus
Aurelius Caſsiodorus
Oroſius
L.Florus
Gregorius Haloander.

LOCORVM ALIQVOT INSIGNIVM INDEX.

Acici Romanæ & Antiochi regis typus 105. C
Actio consularis 26. B
ἀναπαιστικὸν 22. C
Anni distributio secundum antiquos uaria 7. D
Appellatio & prouocatio quid differāt 21. B

Census 9. D
Centuriata comitia 14. C. 15. B
Ciceronis locus emendatus 73. B
Classes populi Romani sex 10. A
Classium centuriæ 10. C
Claudiani locus emendatus 61. A
Cohors pentacosiarchia 48. C
Comitia curiata 15. B. 45. A
Concio curiata & centuriata 14. C
Conuentus quid 86. B
Corneliæ gentis genealogia 84. C

Drachmæ 10. B

Egerius unde dictus 9. A
ἐμβολισμοί 8. A
Exodia 34. C

Herodoti locus emendatus 104. D
Horatij locus castigatur 56. B. 61. B

Intercessio quid 21. B
Iouis Pheretrij tria nomina 7. A

Lex horrendi carminis qualis 8. C

Mataris 36. C
Minæ 10. B

Nexi quomodo liberati 13. D
Nummi bigati & quadrigati 56. C

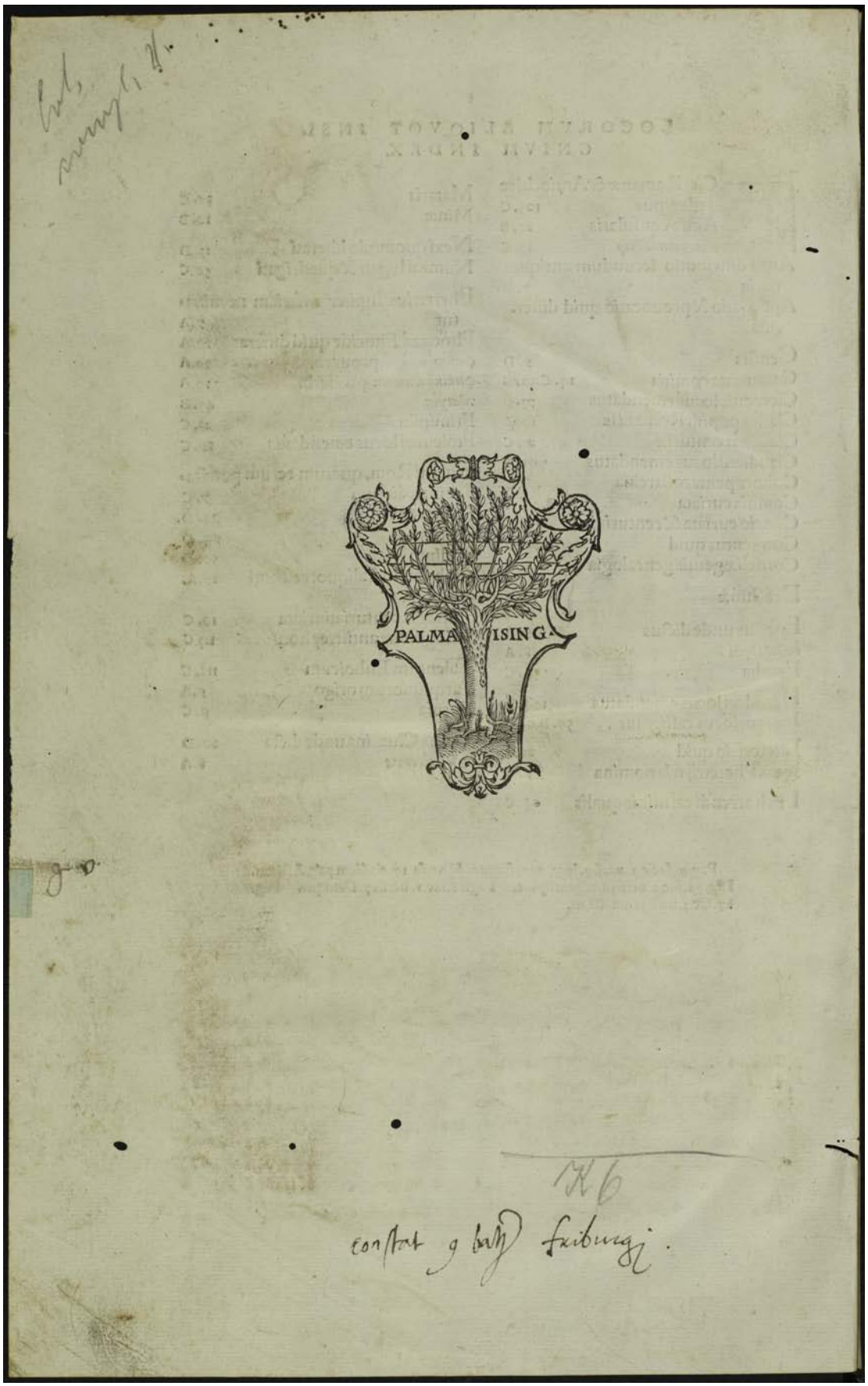
Pheretrius Iupiter trifariam nominatur 7. A
Phocæa à Phocide quid differat 29. A
φωκαέων ἀρά, prouerb. 29. A
φωκικὴ ἀπόνοια, prouerb. 29. A
πλαγία 45. B
Primipilus 13. C
Ptolemæi locus emendatus 29. C

Senatui Rom. quarum rerum potestate interdictum 7. C
Soliferreum 94. D
Sparus 94. D
Stadium 50. D
Strabonis loci aliquot restituti 29. A. 46. B. 79. D
Suffragia centuriatim lata 10. C
Syllogismus antistrephon 113. C

Talentum Euboicum 112. C
Tarquiniorum origo 9. A
Turma 9. C

Venus Cluacina unde dicta 20. D
ὑπερβαίνοντες 8. A

Pag. 9. facie 1. uers. 7. lege, eum suopte. & uersu 17. eiusdem pag. Actium. Pag. 72. fac. 2. uers. 26. argentiq; uis. Pag. 88. fac. 1. uers. 17. Denique. Pag. 87. fac. 1. uers. 33. ouasse, ut.


PALMA
ISING.